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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

NEW SERIES.—VOLUME XI.

SESSION 1870-71.

LIVERPOOL:
ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.

1871.

84

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This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers are solely responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

ERRATUM.

Page 149, line 2—*For* 26·8, *read* 26· gr. [grains.]

NOTE.—In reference to this coin (No. 6, p. 149) Mr. Roach Smith still adheres to his original reading of the inscription, that it should be "EVPARDVS EPS."—ED.

The cost of printing Mr. Mayer's paper was defrayed by the Author. The cost of Plates Nos. I to VIII, illustrating Mr. Smith's papers, was defrayed partly by the Society and partly by the Author. Plates IX, X, and XI, were printed at the expense of Dr. Kendrick, the Author of the paper they illustrate.

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LIST OF MEMBERS.

SESSION XXII, 1869-70.

The first List was dated 23rd November, 1848; all whose names appeared in it are therefore Original Members. Those who have been enrolled as Mayors or Sheriffs have their year of office attached.

The letter P denotes that the Members, in connexion with whose names it occurs, have read papers before the Society.

Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are Members of the Council; and in *Italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpool is usually omitted.

A

23rd Nov., 1848. *Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedale hall, Hawkshead, Windermere.

11th Feb., 1869. *Amer, Stephen, Bridge street, Birkenhead.

17th Dec., 1857. Anderson, Thomas Darnley, Waverley, Farnham, Surrey.

4th Dec., 1856. Ansdell, John, St. Helens.

23rd Nov., 1848. Ansdell, Richard, A.R.A., Lytham house, St. Alban's road, Kensington, London, W.

15th Sep., 1854. Arrowsmith, P. R., Wirral lodge, Oxton, Cheshire.

H. Sh. Cheshire, 1857. *Atkinson, William*, Southport.

12th Jan., 1871. Andrew, Frank, Apsley House, Ashton-under-Lyne.

B

2nd Nov., 1865. *BAILEY, F. J., M.R.C.S., 51, Grove street.

8th June, 1854. *Banning, John Johnson, 20, Castle street.

7th Feb., 1861. *Bartlett, William, 22, North John street.

6th Mar., 1862. *Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart.*, M.P., Manchester, and Reform Club, London, S.W.

P. 6th Dec., 1849. Beamont, William, Warrington.

21st May, 1857. *Bean, Edwin, Revenue buildings.

	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Bell, Henry, Hamilton square, and Grosvenor road, Claughton, Birkenhead.
P.	1st Dec., 1864.	*Benas, B. L., 5, South Castle street, and 74, Upper Parliament Street.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and Heysham, near Lancaster.
	7th Mar., 1850.	Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Birchall, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, Ribbleton hall, Preston.
P.	8th Jan., 1852.	Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
	20th Sept., 1854.	Blackmore, William, Carshalton, Surrey, and Founder's court, Lothbury, London.
	23rd Nov, 1848.	*Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell hall, Great Crosby.
	1st May, 1856.	Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston.
	15th Dec., 1853.	Bossi, Arthur, Paris.
	3rd Jan., 1856.	*Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton.
P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Boult, Joseph, F.R.I.B.A., Exchange buildings West, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road.
	8th Dec., 1851.	Bourne, Cornelius, Stalmine hall, Preston.
	15th April, 1858.	*Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, & Seaforth.
P.	6th Dec., 1855.	Bowes, John, Ph.D., F.R.G.S., Warrington.
P.	3rd Dec., 1868.	Boyle, Henry, M.A., The Firs, Bebington.
P.	12th Dec., 1867.	Boyle, Frederick, F.R.G.S., The Firs, Bebington.
	13th Nov., 1851.	Brackstone, R. H., Lyncombe hill, Bath.
	17th Dec., 1857.	*Bradley, William Gibson, 52, Bold street.
	Mayor L'pool, 1848-9.	*Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth.
	30th Dec., 1854.	Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth.
P.	7th May, 1863.	*Bright, E. B., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
P.	9th Mar., 1854.	*Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Fairfield, and 1, North John street.
	4th Feb., 1864.	*Bright, Sir Charles Tilston, C.E., F.R.S., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
	3rd May, 1849.	Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich.
	6th Mar., 1851.	*Brooke, Sir Richard, Bart.*, Norton priory, Runcorn.
	20th Feb., 1868.	Burgess, Rev. W. R., B.A., Latchford, Warrington.

6th Feb., 1868. *Brooks, William Cunliffe*, M.P., Barlow hall, near Manchester.

17th Sept., 1854. Burnell, Rev. Samuel, A.M., Winwick, Warrington.

P. 15th Dec., 1853. *Buxton, David Ph.Dr., F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street, Hon. Secretary.

C

23rd Nov., 1848. *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street.

3rd Dec., 1857. *Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Fairfield.

1st Dec., 1859. Callender, W. Romaine, jun., F.S.A., Ashburne house, Rusholme, Manchester.

P. 6th Dec., 1855. Calvert, F. Crace, Ph. Dr., F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A.Turin, Chemical Works, Gibson st., Bradford, near Manchester.

18th Dec., 1856. *Campbell, Wm., Captain & Adjutant R.L.M.A., Artillery barracks, Rupert lane.

3rd Dec., 1857. *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead.

H. Sh. Chesh., 1855-6. *Chapman, John*, Hill End, Mottram-in-Longdendale.

14th April, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Nelson-in-Marsden, near Burnley.

24th May, 1855. *Comber, Thomas*, Hargreaves buildings, Chapel street.

4th Mar., 1858. Crawford and Balcarres, Right Hon. the Earl of, Haigh hall, Wigan.

6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Aigburth.

23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, General the Hon. Sir Edward*, K.C.H., D.C.L., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.

D

23rd Sept., 1854. *Davies, Comenius, 8, Kinglake street, and Borough Engineer's Office, Dale street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Dawson Henry, 14, St. James's road.

P. 2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney street.

23rd April, 1857. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of*, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

9th Mar., 1871. *Dod, Joseph, Bebington.

E

9th Dec., 1852. *Eckersley, Thomas*, Wigan.

6th Mar., 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.

7th Jan., 1851. *Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham*, M.P., Rosthern hall, Knutsford.

6th Mar. 1862. *Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord*, Tatton park, Knutsford.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey*, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley.

12th Dec., 1867. *Elsby, Miles Pilling, Bebington.

9th Jan., 1868. *Ellerbeck, J. T., 68, Bold street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.

P. 4th Nov., 1858. *Evans, Edward Francis, Revenue buildings.

F

3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, Sir William, Bart., D.C.L., F.R.S., Manchester.

ffarington, Miss, Worden hall, Preston.

12th Jan., 1871. **Ferguson, Wm.*, F.E.S., 2, St. Aidan's terrace, Claughton, and 4, South John street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Liverpool College, and Shaw street.

12th Jan., 1871. *Float, G. H., 37, Richmond terrace.

P. 15th April, 1858. *Forrest, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charles ville, Claughton, Birkenhead.

12th Jan., 1871. *Fownes, Frederick J., Lord street.

7th May, 1857. *Frackleton, Rev. S. S.*, A.M., Maghera hamlet, Ballynahinch, Ireland.

15th Dec., 1853. *Franks, Augustus Woollaston*, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.

7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, The Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's house, Chester.

G

14th Dec., 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Croxteth road.

3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. J., Quernmore park, Lancaster.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.

11th April, 1867. **Genn John Hawke*, 18, Mersey road, Rock Ferry.

P. 5th Nov., 1863. *Gibson, Thomas, 51, Oxford street.

6th Mar., 1862. *Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E.*, M.P., 11, Carlton House terrace, London, S. W.

19th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, M.P., 13, Redcross street, and The Grange, Wavertree.

6th Feb., 1851. Gray, Lieut.-Colonel, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.

1st Dec., 1870. Green, Benjamin Lepard, Greenbank, Talbot street, Southport.

4th Dec., 1862. *Green, John Henry*, Buenos Ayres.

16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Adlington hall, Chorley.

31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.

19th Mar., 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Prince's buildings, 30, North John street.

H

1st Dec., 1864. *Haigh, Thomas, 47, Boundary lane.

10th Dec., 1857. *Hancock, Thomas S., Sweeting street, and Birkenhead.

P. 6th Mar., 1856. Hardwick, Chas., 74, Halston street, Hulme, Manchester.

12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, Wm.*, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.S. North. Antiq., *&c.*, Samlesbury hall, Preston; Conservative Club, St. James's, S.W.; and R.T.Y. Club, Albemarle street, London, W.

9th Feb., 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosvenor square, London.

23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, Most Hon. the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

Feb., 1871. *Holder, F. W., Hungerford terrace, Conway street, Birkenhead.

8th Dec., 1864. Heald, Thomas, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan.

27th Sept., 1854. *Healey, Samuel R., 7, Dale street, and Westbank, Woolton.

24th Oct., 1854. Heginbottom, George, Birkdale park, Southport.

2nd April, 1868. *Hewitt, James, 1, Dover street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace Gardens, London, W.

23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 4, New Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

12th Jan., 1871. Hirst, John, jun., Dobcross, Saddleworth, near Manchester.

12th Jan., 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.

18th Jan., 1866. *Holden, R., 57, Dale street.

18th Dec., 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.

24th Sept., 1854. *Holt, William D., 23, Edge lane.

23rd Nov., 1848. Horsfall, Thomas Berry, Bellamour hall, Rugeley, Staffordshire.

6th Dec., 1860. *Houghton, James, Barnston towers, Neston. street.

14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.

4th Dec., 1856. *Howell, Edward, 26, Church street.

Mayor Lan., 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, Lancaster.

P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Very Rev. John Saul, D.D.*, The Deanery, Chester.

P. 10th Dec., 1857. *Hughes, John R., 17, Tower chambers.

6th April, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.

• 8th Feb., 1862. Hulton, William Adams, Hurst grange, Preston.

Mayor Ch., 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Glan-y-Mern, Denbigh.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Hume, Rev. Abraham*, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.S. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 6, Rupert lane, President.

21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S., Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.

10th Feb., 1870. Hyde, John, Hesketh street, Southport.

J

1st April, 1852. *Jacob, John Gibborn, 56, Church street, Treasurer.

5th Dec., 1861. Jackson, William, Fleatham house, St. Bees.

23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton hall, Preston.

P. 2nd May, 1861. *Jeffery, F. J., 17, Siddeley street,

23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., Southport.

23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.

3rd May, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., 20, Abercromby square.

2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.

6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger L., Sunnyside, 1, Belvidere road, Prince's park.

15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A., F.S.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.

11th Dec., 1856. Jones, W. Hope, Hooton, Chester.

9th Jan., 1868. Jones, Rev. Charles, Rock Ferry.

K

P. 3rd May, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington.

P. 5th March, 1868. *Kilpin, J. T., Trafford chambers, 58, South John street, and 6, Grove street.

4th Dec., 1862. *King, Lieut-Col. Vincent Ashfield, 18, Tower chambers, and Point of Ayr, Oxton.

5th Nov., 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton Square.

12th Jan., 1871. Kisch, Samuel, M.D., 14, Great George square.

L

6th March, 1862. *Laird John, M.P., Hamilton square, Birkenhead.

23rd Nov., 1848. Langton William, Manchester and Salford Bank, Manchester.

Legh, Miss, The Limes, Hale.

23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.

1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, M.P., Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.

10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh, Col. Egerton*, Jodrell hall, Holmes Chapel.

1st Nov., 1866. *Lilley, John H., H.M. Customs, Revenue buildings.

M

6th March, 1862. McCorquodale, Lieut.-Colonel G., Newton-le-Willows.

15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 23, Lightbody street.

27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, M.P., 30, Moorfields, and Ashfield hall, Neston.

23rd Nov., 1848. *M'Quie, Peter Robinson, 9, Brunswick street, and Thornton lodge, Merton road, Bootle, Vice-President.

5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth house, Seaforth.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Marsden, George, Old Churchyard, and Vernon priory, Edge hill.

1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, Rann lea, Rainhill.

P. 5th June, 1851. Marsh John Fitchett, Fairfield house, Warrington.

1st Dec., 1864. Marson, James, Hill Cliff, Warrington.

1st Dec., 1864. *Mathews, John, Highfield, Rock Ferry, Birkenhead.

6th March, 1862. *Mathison, William, 11, Dale street.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S. F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé étranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., Normandie, l'Oûest, la Morinie, Sociéte d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street, Vice-President.

2nd Jan., 1862. *Milligan, James, jun., Eldwood End, Grassendale, Aigburth.

P. 21st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, Bentley road, and Phœnix Safe Works, Windsor.

3rd Dec., 1857. Moore, Rev. Richard R., A.M., St. Anne's, Eccleston, St. Helens.

P. 8th Nov., 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton College, County of Cork.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James*, LL.D., East Lydford Rectory, Somerset.

3rd Dec., 1863. Moubert, Adolphus, Garswood-Ashton, Warrington.

3rd Dec., 1857. Moult, William, 21, Leigh street, and Knowsley.

11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, 26, Glover's court, Preston.

N

H. S. Ches., 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.

23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.

29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.S. Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 20, Roscommon street.

O

P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., Sedbury park, Chepstow.

3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.

3rd Dec., 1857. Oxley, Frederick, 6, Hungerford rd., London, N.

P

23rd Nov., 1858. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.

18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.

7th Mar., 1850. *Patten, Right Hon. John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.

6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.

9th Feb., 1871. Pearson, John E., Golborne park, near Newton-le-Willows.

11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.

21st Mar., 1860. *Petty, Thomas Shaw*, Preston.

12th Dec., 1867. *Pickering, James, Fisher house, Orrell, near Wigan, (Messrs. J. Blundell and Sons, Rumford street)

P. 6th Jan., 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen bldgs., Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.

3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, St. Austin's, Warrington.

23rd Nov., 1848. Pilkington, James, Park pl. house, Blackburn.

10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.

1st Dec., 1864. *Porter, John, Clayton square.

12th Mar., 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon street, Dale st., and Belmont house, Belmont rd.

6th Dec., 1849. *Preston, William, 13, Vernon street, and Ellel Grange, near Lancaster.

14th Jan., 1864. *Priest, Thomas E., Clarendon rooms, South John street.

12th Jan., 1871. Paterson, James, Warrington.

R

15th Mar., 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, C.B., C.E., F.G.S., Sanitary Commissioner, Local Government Act Office, 8, Richmond terrace, Whitehall; and Lancaster lodge, Boltons, West Brompton.

13th Sept., 1854. *Raynes, James Trevelyan, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock Park, Rock Ferry.

P. 29th Dec., 1854. Rees, William, 4, Cavendish place, All Saints, Manchester.

3rd Dec., 1863. Rhodocanakis, H.I.H., the Prince, G.C.G., G.K.S., C.K.G., Ph.D., &c, Clarendon hotel, New Bond street, London.

23rd Feb., 1871. Robinson, George S., The Greenaw, New Brighton.

20th Dec., 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Robinson, Charles Backhouse.

1st Dec., 1864. *Robinson, John, 41, Lord street.

3rd Jan., 1850. *Ronald, Robert Wilson, 19, Dale street.

15th April, 1858. Rooke, Rev. W. J. E., M.A., Tunstal Vicarage, Kirby Lonsdale.

15th April, 1858. Rowlinson, W., Windermere.

25th Sept., 1854. Rylands, Peter, M.P., Bewsey house, Warrington.

P. 13th Dec., 1854. Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.L.S., F.G.S., Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington, Vice-President.

3rd Nov., 1870. Rylands, John Paul, Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington.

S

6th Dec., 1855. *Sandbach, W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.

P. 7th Sept., 1851. Sansom, Thomas, F.B.S.E., Custom House, Newcastle-on-Tyne.

8th Jan., 1852. Sharp, John, The Hermitage, Lancaster.

23rd Nov., 1848. Sharpe, Edmund, A.M., The Higher Greaves, Lancaster.

2nd June, 1853. *Sharp, William*, Fairsnape Sheen Mount, Mortlake, Surrey.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., The Greaves, near Lancaster.

P. 16th April, 1863. *Smith, Henry Ecroyd, Aldboro' house, Egremont, Birkenhead, Hon. Curator.

2nd May, 1850. **Smith, James*, Barkeley house, Seaforth.

20th Feb., 1868. *Smith, Samuel, jun., 8, Croxteth road, Prince's park.

3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas*, M.A., Storrs, Windermere.

5th Feb., 1863. Steele, Alexander, LL.D., Strathallan hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.

13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.

4th Mar., 1852. *Sykes, James, 115, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breck house, Poulton-le-Fylde.

T

18th Nov., 1869. *Thomas, George, 31, King street, Rock Ferry.

18th Feb, 1858. *Thompson, Henry, 153, Upper Parliament st., and 11, North John street.

13th Sept., 1854. *Thornley, Samuel, Deane road, Fairfield.

17th Jan., 1867. *Thorp, Henry*, Whalley Range, Manchester.

P. 8th Dec., 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth.

8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, 15, Exchange buildings West, and Eastham.

H.S. Lanc., 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley, Burnley.

P. 2nd April, 1857. *Towson, John Thomas, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.

14th April, 1863. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.

27th Sept., 1854. *Turner, John Hayward, 23, Abercromby square.

6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.

V

23rd Nov., 1848. **Varty, Thomas*, Stag-stones, Penrith.

16th Dec., 1869. Vaudrey, Benjamin Llewellyn, Tushingham hall, Whitchurch.

14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W

Myr. C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.

11th Dec., 1856. *Walmsley, Thomas*, Preston.

3rd Dec., 1868. *Walthew, J. M., 1, Tower chambers, and 30, Percy street.

12th Dec., 1867. *Walmsley, Gilbert G., Lord street.

6th Mar., 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.

21st May, 1857. Ward, John Angus, Hooton Lodge, Chester.

3rd May, 1864. *Waterhouse, John Dockray, 1, Oldhall street.

P. 5th Dec., 1861. *WATERHOUSE, NICHOLAS, Durning road.

17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.

2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.

1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mossley hill, Aigburth.

P. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 6, Offerton road, London, S.W.

13th Mar., 1862. Westminster, Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., 33, Upper Grosvenor street, London, and Eaton hall, Chester.

9th Mar., 1871. *Whalley, E., Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Office, Dale Street.

2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.

9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Newton-le-Willows.

6th June, 1850. Whitley, Rev. William, B.A., Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.

P. 30th Nov., 1854. Wilkinson, Thomas Turner, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley.

14th Feb., 1861. Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helens.

12th Jan., 1871. Wilson, Edward J., Custom house, Liverpool.

13th Nov., 1866. *Winder, Thomas, Coniston House, Walton.

23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Newton, near Middlewich.

7th Dec., 1865. *Wood, R. H.*, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Mem. Corr. Soc. Antiq. de Normandie, Crumpsall, Manchester.

7th May, 1855. * *Woodhouse, John George*, Bronte House, Everton Valley.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

6th Feb., 1851. Akerman, John Yonge, Hon. M.R.S.L.; F.S.A. Newcastle; F.R.S. of Northern Antiquities; Corr. Mem. SS. Antiq. Scot., France, Russia, Switzerland, Rome; Hon. Mem. Roy. Acad., Stockholm; London.

27th Sept., 1854. Babington, Charles Cardale, A.M., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.L.S., Professor of Botany, Cambridge.

6th Feb., 1851. Blaauw, William Henry, A.M., F.S.A., Beechland, Uckfield.

1st Nov., 1860. Brown, James, New York, U.S.A.

6th Feb., 1851. Charlton, Edward, M.D., F.S.A. Newc., 7, Eldon square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

P. 1st Feb., 1855. Clarke, Joseph, F.S.A., Saffron Walden, Essex.

19th May, 1859. Cochet, M. L'Abbé, Inspector of Antiquities and Monuments in Normandy, Dieppe.

27th Sept., 1854. Gray, John Edward, Ph.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., &c., British Museum, London.

13th Sept., 1870. Hooker, Joseph Dalton, C.B., M.D., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., F.R.G.S., Royal Gardens, Kew.

13th Sept., 1870. Huxley, Thomas Henry, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., [Professor of Nat. Hist. in the Roy. School of Mines], 26, Abbey place, St. John's wood, London.

P. 27th Sept., 1854. Latham, R. Gordon, M.D., F.R.S., 99, Disraeli road, Putney, London.

13th Sept., 1870. Lubbock, Sir John, Bart., M.P., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., High Elms, Farnborough, Kent.

9th Dec., 1852. MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square East, Belfast.

27th Sept., 1854. Murchison, Sir Roderick I., Bart., G.C. St. S., A.M., D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P.L.S., F.G.S., P.R. Geogr. S., Hon. M R.I.A., Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland; Trust. Brit. Mus.; Hon. Mem. Acadd. St. Petersburgh, Berlin, Copenhagen; Corr. Mem. Inst. France, &c., 16, Belgrave square, London.

27th Sept., 1854. Owen, Richard, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., F.L.S., F.G.S., British Museum, London.

P. 7th May, 1851. Pidgeon, Henry Clarke, 10, St. Leonard's terrace, Maida hill West, London.

27th Sept., 1854. Phillips, John, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., Professor of Geology, and Keeper of the University Museum, Oxford; Hon. Mem. Imp. Acad., Moscow; Société Vaudoise, &c., Oxford.

13th Sept., 1870. Rankine, William John Macquorn, LL.D., F.R.S. L. & E., [Regius Professor of Civil Engineering and Mechanics in the Univ. of Glasgow,] 59, St. Vincent street, Glasgow.

27th Sept., 1854. Sabine, General Sir Edward, R.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Pres. R.S., F.R.A.S., 13, Ashley place, London, S.W., and Woolwich.

27th Sept., 1854. Sedgwick, Rev. Adam, A.M., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., Hon. M.R.I.A., Woodwardian Professor, Trinity College, Cambridge.

P. 6th Feb., 1851. Smith, Charles Roach, F.S.A., Fellow of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Hon. Mem. SS. Antiq., France, Normandy, Scotland, Spain, Newcastle, the Morinie, Abbeville, Picardy, Wiesbaden, Luxemburg, Treves, Touraine, &c., Temple place, Strood, Kent.

13th Sept., 1870. Stokes, George Gabriel, M.A., D.C.L., LL.D., Sec. R.S., [Lucasian Professor of Math. in the Univ. of Cambridge,] Lensfield Cottage, Cambridge.

13th Sept., 1870. Tyndall, John, LL.D., Ph.D., F.R.S., F.G.S., [Professor of Nat. Philos. in the Royal Institution], Royal Institution, Albemarle street, London.

P. 20th Jan., 1870. Walcott, Rev. Mackenzie E. C., M.A., B.D., M.R.S.L., F.S.A., &c., Precentor and Prebendary of Chichester, 58, Belgrave road, London, S.W.

6th Feb., 1851. Willis, Rev. Robert, A.M., F.R.S., Jacksonian Professor, Cambridge, and 23, York terrace, Regent's park, London.

P. 27th Sept., 1854. Wright, Thomas, A.M., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., Member of the Institute of France; of the Roy. Soc. North. Antiqs. Copenhagen; Hon. Mem. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of France; Corresp. Mem. Soc. Antiq. Normandy; of Soc. Antiqs. Scotland, &c., 14, Sydney street, Brompton, London.

Presidents since Commencement.

1. Right Hon. Francis, 1st Earl of Ellesmere, Lord-Lieut. of Lancashire - 1848.
2. Right Hon. Charles William, 3rd Earl of Sefton, Lord-Lieut. of Lanc. - 1854.
3. General the Hon. Sir Edward Cust, K.C.H., D.C.L. - - - - 1855.
4. Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P. - - - - - - - 1863.
5. Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., &c. - - - - - - - - - - - 1866.
6. Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c. - - - - - - - - 1869.

Secretaries since Commencement.

1848. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c., and H. C. Pidgeon, Esq.

1851. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c., and Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A.

1854. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c.

		Assistant Secretaries.
1855. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c.	-	Thomas G. Wedgwood, Esq.
1856. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c.	-	W. W. Rundell, Esq.,
1857. Rev. A. Hume, LL.D., &c.	-	J. H. Genn, Esq.
1864. Nicholas Waterhouse, Esq.	-	J. H. Genn, Esq.,
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1860. William Burke, Esq.

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1859. David Buxton, F.R.S.L.	-	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1867. Nicholas Waterhouse, Esq.	-	A. C. Gibson, F.S.A.
1869. Nicholas Waterhouse, Esq.	-	H. Ecroyd Smith, Esq.

TRANSACTIONS.

ADDRESS
TO THE MEMBERS OF THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

By the Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., President.

(Read 18th October, 1870.)

Another year has passed, and we are on the threshold of another Session. It seems idle to speak of the flight of one year, when the twenty-two years and upwards, since the founding of the Society, have passed so rapidly. In what respect has the past taught us any new lesson?

In a Provincial Society,—where it is impossible, and would be absurd, to try to keep up the rule of recording nothing which has been known before,—original discoveries are rare, but a new use of old materials is frequent. If we cannot add new truths to the stock of human knowledge, we may yet serve a most important purpose, by making them known. With the exception that there are several teachers and subjects instead of only one of each, a Learned Society is in some respects like a Professor's class in one of our Universities. It is hardly expected that either he or they will kindle any new light, or discover any additional Law of Nature;

but it is expected that they will not lag behind the period, or fail to keep abreast with the acquirements of the day.

Our Report, just read and adopted, is comparatively a trifling affair. It gives the result of a single Session,—though even that is not without its importance. But when we look at ou wenty-two volumes, corresponding with the same number of Sessions,—with numerous papers, and hundreds of illustrations in the shape of plates, maps, plans, and woodcuts,—the result is far from unimportant. There is a storehouse of valuable facts for the future historian of the district, in which he will find materials ready to his hand, on almost every subject within his range.

There are some who imagine that though we read, "many "shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased," yet its progress is comparatively slow; and that any particular age is not very far in advance of the immediately preceding one. Such persons usually derive their information from the daily newspapers; and they forget that the most important facts in Science are rarely alluded to in them. These are contained in the Transactions of Learned Societies, and in Journals specially addressed to distinct classes of inquirers; but they are available to all, especially to those who can make the best use of them. And it is only by comparing the information of different periods, as a traveller reckons the milestones passed, that we can see the progress made.

In like manner, year by year glides away, leaving few traces on an individual; indeed, sometimes he appears to belie the parish register, and actually to grow younger. Yet age creeps on with silent steps, all the while, and makes its presence felt at least every decade.—Also, to a momentary observer, the sun appears stationary, and the shadow on the dial can not be noticed to progress. Yet day by day brings us the reckoning of the silent hours, and year by year the beautiful

succession of all the seasons.—Or, a person passing through a forest may scarcely notice that the brown leaves are falling around him; but a few weeks, and often a shorter period, exchange the abundant foliage of Spring and Summer for naked branches and leafless twigs.

It is thus that Scientific knowledge, and indeed knowledge of all kinds increases;—slowly, it may be, at times, but with absolute certainty;—and mankind receive, somewhat ungratefully, the treasures accumulated by numerous explorers, in different paths of inquiry.

There is an interesting Atlas, known in our best schools, which traces the progress of Geographical discovery from the earliest recorded times. It exhibits first the earth as known at the time of the Deluge, surrounded by thick darkness; but as time clears away the clouds, Egypt, Greece, Rome, the pillars of Hercules and Britain gradually come into view;—and again the West Indies, the American continent, Australia, the Isles of the Pacific, and the North West Passage. There is still much to be known of the interior details of countries which are laid down on our maps; but the facts serve to illustrate the gradual lifting of the clouds, which originally hung over different departments of human knowledge.

In the history of Geology, a great fact was brought to light, when it was discovered that the strata of the earth lie from bottom to top in a certain order. The whole was suitably compared to a great "stone book," the leaves of which lie, like those in an ordinary printed volume, in regular succession. And, though certain strata are absent at particular places, they are found elsewhere: so that the series is known, as an entire volume is completed by the collation of several copies, each perhaps imperfect, but in different degrees and at different places.

A further step in advance was made, when it was found

that fragments of some were imbedded in others, the older formations in the new: and again when it was seen that each had treasured in its bosom its own set of organic remains, differing in character from other sets above and below.

A further step still was taken, when it was found that the works of man lie beneath certain of the upper beds;—and this simple fact forms a new subject of inquiry of great interest. How low are they found, and to what distance in time do they carry back the history of the human race?

Again, it is but a few years since certain reddish projections were noticed round the surface of the moon, during a total eclipse of the sun. Various were the speculations concerning them, as is usual on the discovery of a new fact; but by bringing the advanced knowledge of optics to bear upon Astronomy, the riddle has been already read. It was found that the prismatic colours which Newton had described, were modified when certain kinds of light were employed; and that the burning of different materials gave each its own set of phenomena, in the form of certain dark lines upon the colours. By the application of this discovery to the sun, certain old theories, like that of the luminous envelope, were at once disproved. It was found to be a vast burning mass, the materials consumed being the same as those known to ourselves; and even the distant stars have been obliged to yield up their secrets to persevering investigators. I might go still further, and tell you that calculations have been made, which are no doubt approximately true, showing the explosive force necessary to cause certain luminous projections, which our telescopes bring to view.

Thus, one lesson which we are taught is that no portion of knowledge should be despised, though its utility may not at present be seen. In fact, all knowledge is money invested at compound interest,—since every fact enables us to know others which without it would have remained unknown; and

as scientific inquirers are now greatly multiplied and their means for research improved, the interest is high and the capital is rapidly doubled.

Before several modern branches of science were known, an interesting article was written entitled "Thirty Years Ago;" the object of which was to show what vast progress mankind had made in useful inventions and discoveries, during a comparatively short period. But, it would be easy to show that since that time, no term of even half the extent has passed, without raising the platform of knowledge higher, to an equal extent and sometimes to a greater.

As an example of what may be accomplished in a single year,—the very last completed one, 1869,—I shall avail myself of the enumeration of Judge Day, made before the American Geographical and Statistical Society, at its anniversary held during the present year.

1. The connexion of the North Atlantic with the Pacific, by railway, has been completed.—2. The canal through the Isthmus of Suez has been opened for the commerce of the nations.—3. Exploration and important discoveries have taken place, in North Eastern and East Equatorial Africa.—4. Additional and conclusive evidence has been obtained, of a climate in the Arctic regions, during past ages, resembling that of modern countries lying a short distance from the Equator.—5. Marvellous results have been obtained, by the deep-sea dredging of Professor Thompson and Dr. Carpenter, proving the existence of animal life at enormous depths of the ocean, where it was previously thought the existence of life was impossible.—6. Earthquake disturbance has been very general,—and the phenomena have been distributed so widely as to include places hitherto undisturbed, at least within the memory of man.—7. New facts have been discovered respecting the attractive power of mountains;—as shown in the pendulum experiments, at certain stations in the Himalayas.—8. By means of the spectroscope, a method has been discovered of determining the proper motions of the stars;—and the fact that the physical and chemical construction of the

whole stellar universe is identical.—9. A self-registering compass has been invented, and used with success; by which every motion of a vessel can be recorded and preserved, from the beginning to the end of her voyage.—10. Trees of enormous height and magnitude have been discovered in Australia, one of which was found to be 69 feet in circumference.—11. Great deposits of coal have been discovered in New Zealand, and also on the borders of the Caspian Sea;—in the latter case verifying a prediction of Humboldt's.—12. Researches respecting man, in Europe, Asia and Africa, reveal the structure, mode of life, and customs, of several ancient pre-historic races.

There can be no moral doubt, that when the discoveries of 1870 come to be reckoned up, the roll will be equally surprising, if not more so.

It has been said, however, by persons pretending to be judges, that the British Association has accomplished nothing of importance, by its visit to Liverpool. It is true that no new comet appeared on the occasion; nor were animals or minerals previously unknown, paraded before the eyes of the curious; nor did "a young earthquake," to adopt Byron's expression, opportunely occur, to show us the mode and the power of the earth's interior working. Yet we may fairly say that each of the seven, or rather nine, great subjects was pushed forward a stage; that difficulties were cleared away; and that some misconceptions of long standing were swept out of the path. A few brilliant but stale experiments would have come within the range of these surface skimmers, and have satisfied them; who fled from section to section in search of excitement, or frightened by technical terms, and who thought the glories of the week were concentrated in the evening Receptions. But those who can best appreciate such investigations, know that there is often most heat where there is least flame; and they are satisfied with the results. Let us take a single fact, the experiment of Professor Rankine, by which he showed, almost prophetically, the fate of the ill-starred

Captain. It spoke more eloquently to the understanding and the heart, than a thousand frothy orations.

To a superficial observer, the great work of the Association takes place in the Section-rooms; but the published Reports show the comparative value in which the papers are held. Some very brief ones, as well as the Addresses of Presidents of Sections, are printed entire; the majority appear either by abstract or extract; and not a few are condensed down to their titles. The more popular memoirs appear in the newspapers; and the more important ones are printed at large in the Scientific periodicals.

It is rather in the Reports, of which little is known to the public in general, that the real work of the Association is shown. These are prepared with great care, by committees selected for the purpose; grants of money are made to defray the costs of inquiry; and the results are printed at large in the annual volume, constituting its principal bulk.

But it cannot be said that the meeting was unimportant. It had an interest peculiarly its own; and it is from Liverpool in 1870 that will date the prominent discussion of the important question respecting the origin of life. Can living and organized beings exist without predecessors? And can they propagate their kind, those which themselves had no parentage being at the top of a chain of similar links, descending, perhaps, in perpetuity? Or, is the popular opinion erroneous, which has for ages affirmed the existence of spontaneous generation? Did it originate in our ignorance of causes, and does it require only an adequate *experimentum crucis*, to show that Abiogenesis is a delusion? The evidence certainly tends in this latter direction; for thus far, almost in proportion as we isolate the materials employed from external influence, are the supporters of spontaneous generation driven back. And, in the absence of definite information, it is certainly more philosophical to conclude that the exercise of still greater caution, and more

care and skill in the experiments, will eliminate other grounds of error, till the theory of Abiogenesis becomes attenuated to a fine and a still finer thread, and at length snaps in twain. But, on such a subject it would be unbecoming to dogmatise; We must suspend our judgment and wait in patience.

It should be borne in mind, that mere motion in minute bodies is not conclusive of the existence of life; as it often arises from causes of a mere mechanical kind, which are definitely assignable. And it is clear that similar questions suggest themselves respecting vegetable life,—which being of a lower type might be supposed to be producible with still greater facility. Yet I am not aware that a claim has ever been put forward to the production of the humblest lichen;—and especially that any theory of development would ever account for its producing the oak or the cedar.

There is one important event by which the present year has been marked,—the passing of the Elementary Education Act. It is true that in 1833, Education received from our government a tardy recognition; and that in 1839, the Committee of the Privy Council was formed for promoting education throughout the country. Yet it required the lapse of thirty-one years more,—practically a generation,—before another great step in advance was made.

Now, for the first time, is provision made for the education of all;—in other words, a thorough *National* system has been established. Now, for the first time, in the dark places of our large towns and rural districts, where education is most required but least appreciated, can we "compel them to come "in." When, in after years, the history of the year 1870 shall be written, the story of Mr. Forster's Act will constitute one of its brightest pages.

It is somewhat curious that previous to 1833, we had, in England, religion established and education voluntary;

whereas in the United States of America they had education established and religion voluntary. Probably the golden mean lies between the two contradictory courses; at all events, England is approximating to America, and America to England.

The two great evils of our present educational condition are,—first that the grade of acquirements is too low, nine-tenths of those who leave school knowing only how to read, write, and cipher imperfectly;—and second that it is too limited in range, not touching that class of the community who are "in the lowest deep a lower deep." The Act contains provisions for remedying the latter; but the former may also be remedied in practice, by enlarging the boundaries of Education, through a better class of school books, and improved modes of teaching. Attention to the subject has been awakened all over the country; and mankind have recently learned that even the common soldier is not a mere machine,—the cultivation of his intellect giving him increased personal resources, as well as enlarged power for conquest.

This leads us to contemplate a higher grade of Education; viz., that which is intermediate between the requirements of the National School pupil, and those of the College student. This class at least, and even those of a lower grade, should know something of the laws of matter and of the human constitution. The engineer may be careful as to the quality, and may understand the effects of the coke and water which he gives to his engine, and yet may remain careless and ignorant respecting his own food and drink, or the air which he breathes. Mankind in general should understand something of the laws of health, and of the dangers which arise from deficient drainage or the decay of organic matter; or as some one says of "the enemy which is under their feet." The powerful agents by which we are surrounded in daily life

should be understood, that danger may be reduced to a minimum; as the nature of steam pressure, and the character of the terrible gases which endanger human life in mines. In short, besides learning to read, which is only giving us the tools for research, we should know something of the varied material laws, the numerous facts of which lie so close to us from day to day.

We do not despair of having all this accomplished in time; indeed a better day is dawning. Science herself takes a double flight, not only ascending upwards and outwards to the ascertaining of new and valuable truths, but stooping also to popularise and simplify these great results for the use of mankind. Thus the lark, singing soars into a higher and purer atmosphere, yet descends to make her home upon the ground.

But there is a higher grade of Education still, that of the professional student. As I referred to this subject at our last anniversary, I require to touch it but slightly now. Events move, however, with a rapid pace; for since that time, indeed since the close of the meeting of the Association, the foundation stone of new buildings for the Owens College has been laid,—which, it is said, is designed to be the Great Scientific University of the North. It commences a new era with most flattering prospects; and two local Learned Societies have made characteristic contributions to it, presenting the whole of their illustrative collections.

When we remember the small beginnings of our Free Public Library and Museum in 1851, which were contemptible in comparison with the rich gifts cast into the treasury at Manchester, and consider the dimensions which these Institutions have already attained, we do not despair. The Library was closed during the recent great meeting, but

the Museum was open; and from those who were best qualified to judge, there was a unanimous expression of delight and astonishment, that such extended progress had been made.

Few towns possess like this one, facilities for education of the highest class. For example, we have two large collections of Natural History, and in those departments where either is weak it could easily be strengthened.—Commercial products in their various stages, from the raw material to the highest condition of manufacture, are here; and other specimens could be procured with great readiness. In the departments of Ethnology and Antiquity, our collections are in some respects unrivalled; and the permanent Gallery, connected with the Royal Institution, is noted for its rare collection of mediæval Art. There are lecture rooms and collections at both the Royal Institution and the Library and Museum; so that endowments only are wanting. In the early days of the Owens College only six Professorships were founded, three more important on a scale double that of the three less important. In the same way, by avoiding a minute distribution of subjects, a limited staff of instructors might suffice in the day of small things. For some reason, the highest kind of education is viewed with considerable apathy in this town; and it is therefore important to keep the subject before the minds of the people, "whether they will hear or "whether they will forbear."

It is a curious fact, that while knowledge is subdivided into smaller portions, for special cultivation by kindred spirits, and while departmental Magazines, if I may so call them, are on the increase, there is a movement in the metropolis towards partial union. It is thought, for example, that all the Societies might meet under one roof,—say at Burlington House,—using to some extent the same apartments, the same attendants, the same apparatus for illustration, and perhaps eventually

the same libraries. Thus, while distinct in their specific objects and operations, they are united in general purpose; and it is interesting to find that the same thought is entertained both in London and the provinces, though it has nowhere been welcomed yet as it deserves to be.

There are other subjects to which I might direct your attention, but I fear to trespass. Believing as I do, that a knowledge of God's laws is not antagonistic to a knowledge of his written word, but on the contrary auxiliary to it, it has always been the delight of my leisure hours, and even of times when I had no leisure, to promote useful knowledge of every kind and degree. This sentiment, I know that you share with me, and I trust that the result of the coming session will show intelligence, energy, and system; and also that in this and every good work, we may be found though faint still pursuing.

RELIQUES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES OF ST. BRIDGET AND ST. HILDEBURGA, WEST KIRKBY, CHESHIRE.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

(Read 1st December, 1870.)

The Parish of West Kirkby (now West Kirby), lying 18 miles N.W. of Chester city, is one of the most important in the hundred of Wirral, and occupies the whole of its north-western angle. Dr. Ormerod describes its *first* quarter as comprising the townships of West Kirkby and Newton-cum-Larton, with that of Grange, Great Caldey or Caldey Grange; *second*, the townships of Frankby and Greasby; *third*, those of Great and Little Meols, with Hoose; *fourth*, the township of Little Caldey.*

Originally *Kirkbye*, or, settlement at the Church, it became "*West* Kirkby," to distinguish it from "Kirkby-in-Walley," at the opposite corner of the peninsula of Wirral, now commonly known as Wallasey. Each of these extensive parishes possessed two Churches, those of Wallasey lying the one in Kirkby-in-Walley, the other on the Leasowes and near the sea, which ultimately destroyed it and engulphed the site together with that of its burial-ground. For further information on this head, Bishop Gastrell's "*Notitia*," Dr. Ormerod's "*History of the County*,"† and Lyson's "*Cheshire*,"‡ may be consulted.

* Gastrell's *Notitia*. The last now simply bears the name of Caldy.

† II, 260. Heading of Moreton. ‡ Page 807.

The Churches of West Kirkby were situate, the parish Church at the town proper, the other, a Chapel of Ease, upon Saint Hildeburgh's Eye, *i.e.*, the island of St. Hildeburga, which had become insulated through the same potent influence which had wrecked the Chapel, as Bishop Gastrell calls it, upon the Leasowe shore.

From the Charters in the Chartulary of St. Werburgh,* in Chester, Dr. Ormerod obtains most of the information he produces† respecting the early ecclesiastical condition of this parish, all mention of which is strangely omitted in Domesday. The Charters commence in the time of the Conqueror, and the light reflected upon these ancient Saxon foundations is consequently more incidental than positive; we must e'en be thankful for these scraps.

Robert de Roelent, or Rodelent, as he is more frequently designated, was inducted into the fine Norman Barony of Rhuddlan, of which this district formed a part, by Hugh Lupus, created first (Norman) Earl by his uncle the Conqueror. Robert had accompanied William and his nephew over the channel, but would seem to have left his heart behind, inasmuch as we find him at a very early period transferring the revenues of the Churches of West Kirkby and Hildeburgh-Eye (with lands and other Churches) to the Abbey of St. Ebrulf, now St. Evroul, situate at Utica in Normandy, where the bones of his ancestors reposed.‡ This gift was confirmed by King William in 1081, in his Charter to the Abbey, in the following terms§ :—" Robertus de " Rodelento, præfato Hugone Cestrensi comite domino suo " concedente, dedit Sancto Ebrulfo, Cerchebiam cum duabus " ecclesiis, unam scilicet quæ in ipsa villâ est, et aliam prope " illium manerium in insulâ maris."

* Page 28, *Harl. MSS.* 1865. † II, pp. 267–9.

‡ Earl Hugh had a natural son named Robert, who became a monk here. Pedigree in Ormerod's History, p. 47.

§ Leycester's *Cheshire Antiquities*, p. 105.

Robert was named from Rhuddlan, in the Vale of Clwyd, Flintshire, which town, designated Roelent in Domesday, and subsequently Rodelent or Rothelent, became Rhuddlan, but pronounced *Rhythlan*. As governor of all Cheshire, and commander of the forces to the Earl, he was no inconsiderable person. Though a native of Normandy he came early to this country, where, being thoroughly trained in arms, he was knighted by Edward the Confessor. His father was Umfrid de Telliolo, son of Amfrid, of Scandinavian descent; his mother, Adeliza, sister of Hugh de Grentemaisnill, of the famous family of Geroians. Taking part in all the chief actions of the Conqueror, we find him Commander-in-chief of Rufus's forces at the siege of Rochester in 1087.* At the period of the survey for Domesday, Robert held "divided possession "with his cousin the Earl, of half the castle and burg of "Roelent, half the church, the mint, the iron mine, the "stream of Cloith (Clwyd) with its fisheries and mills, and "the toll and forests not attached to particular vills of that "manor. He had also a moiety of Bren, with five berewicks, "and had lands in 33 berewicks of Englefield, formerly "attached to Roelent, and five manors in Atiscross hundred. "These were held of the Earl of Chester.

* * * * *

"In Cheshire, Robert de Roelent held the two Mollingtons, "Leighton, Thornton Mayow, Gayton, Haselwall, Thurstan-"ston, the two Meolses, Wallasey, Neston and Hargrave.

"These possessions were dispersed on his death; it is, "however, probable that he left illegitimate issue, as Thur-"stanston continued in possession of a family who bore his "name, from whom it has descended by heirs female to the "present proprietor.†

* Leycester's *Ches. Antiq. Vide* account of Hugh Lupus, his kinsman, in first edition. † Ormerod, I, p. 52.

"For his works of piety," continues Sir Peter Leycester, "he gave to the Abbey of Utica in Normandy (where his "brothers Ernold and Roger were monks, and his father and "mother, *alique parentes ejus*, were buried), the Church of "Tellioles, and the tythe of his mills, land, and beer in his "cellar; and he gave in England two carucates of land and "20 villanes and the Church of Cumbivel, *all the town tythe "and Church of Kirkby in Wirral, within the county of "Cheshire, and the Church of the Island*, and the Church "of St. Peter's in Chester city."

He is described by Ordericus,* as a wise and valiant soldier, eloquent and liberal. His death occurred under the hill of Hormaheva, whilst fighting with Griffith, king of Wales, on the third day of July, 1088. "Afterwards with "great lamentation, both of the English and Normans, his "soldiers brought his body to Chester, and it was interred in "the monastery of St. Werburge in that city; which monas-"tery Hugh Earl of Chester had built, and had made "Richard, a monk of Becke, in Normandy, the first Abbot "thereof." A long epitaph, said to have been inscribed on his tomb, is given in Dugdale's *Baronage*.†

The Abbot and Convent of St. Ebrulf, however, were soon tired of managing this distant property, and gladly effected a transfer of their rights in respect to the Churches of St. Bridget and St. Hildeburga—with that of St. Peter, in Chester—to the monks of St. Werburg in this city, subject to the payment of an annual rental, at the manor of Petheling, of £30. Lysons states‡ that a further consideration was paid down in the form of *a palfrey* and nine marks. Nevertheless, we shortly find the parish Church at West Kirby in possession of the Earls of Chester, and by one or other of these, during the reign of King Stephen, annexed to the manor of Caldey. As a part of this manor it was awarded to

* 669–671. † Ormerod, *note*, I, p. 53. ‡ *Cheshire*, p. 668.

the Abbey of Basingwerk, on the opposite shore of Flintshire, the result being a very fierce litigation between the Basingwerk ecclesiastics and those of Chester.

"The Abbot of Basingwerk* claimed the presentation in "right of his manor of Caldey, to which, he stated, it had "been annexed by Randle Gernons (fourth Earl), with all "other privileges, except warren and pleas of warren. That "in the time of King Stephen, one Nigell was presented "by his predecessors; who was succeeded, with their per-"mission, by his son Thomas, and he by his son Richard, "and so on, until, in consequence of the Council of Lateran, "in 1215, hereditary succession in benefices was forbidden "by the Legate in England. The Abbot added, that after "the death of the last hereditary incumbent, his convent "was dispossessed of Caldey, the advowson of West Kirkby, "and other estates, by Randle Blundeville (sixth Earl); "by whose collusion the abbey of St. Werburgh obtained "several presentations, of which the last was that of Ralph "de Montalt, '*qui tempore querræ per posse occupavit,*' "and that the last rector being now deceased, the Abbey of "Basingwerk reclaimed its privileges, and estimated their "losses at £200.

"The Abbot of St. Werburgh asserted, on the other hand, "that the advowson had been procured by his convent, for "*the sum of* 60 *shillings, paid to the Abbot of Basingwerk* in "open court, before Lucas de Tancy, chief justice of Chester, "to whose jurisdiction an objection was raised by the plain-"tiffs, on the ground of his appointment by Simon de Mont-"fort, an acknowledged rebel, King Henry being then in his "custody, and Edward Earl of Chester a prisoner in "Wallingford Castle.

"This objection being deemed insufficient, and the jurors

* *Harl. MSS.* 2072, 21.

"finding the three last appointments to have been made by "the Abbots of St. Werburgh, the determination was in "favour of that Abbey, with which the advowson remained "to the dissolution, and was then given by charter, and has "since continued attached, to the Dean and Chapter of the "new Cathedral. The rector has the tithes of the whole "parish."*

The present Church, dedicated, like its Saxon predecessor, to St. Bridget, stands at the distance of half a mile from the estuary of the Dee, which the western side of the tower faces, as is likewise the case with all the old country Churches between this and Chester.

To Saint Bridget, or Bride, V.M. (Virgin Abbess and Martyr), a saint of the sixth century—well known as the patroness, as St. Patrick the patron, of Ireland—several other of our Cheshire Churches were dedicated, including one in Handbridge, Chester city. St. Bridget *the abbess*, is patroness of Kildare; St. Bridget *the widow*, of Sweden; and a fourth, or one of the three already named, of Holland. The Irish element, so often noticed among our historic relics of *ancient* Meols, as coins and personal ornaments, is again evident in the dedication of West Kirkby Church. Curiously enough, a Scotch element also appears, seemingly introduced into the district by Nigellus, the first Norman rector under Ranulf Gernons, a trace of which occurred during late operations in a coin of Alexander. A few Scotch coins have likewise been found upon the Meols beach, in connexion with other mediæval objects washed from the artificial stratum of soil, to which we have frequently had occasion to advert; they were all struck by Alexander III, A.D. 1214—1249.

* "Tax Eccl. £10 13s. 4d.; Abbas Cest. in eadem £2 13s. 4d." Dr. Ormerod and other writers omit all mention of a *South Aisle*, removed during the Vandalic "improvements" in 1788. In 1860 a portion of the parish went to form part of the newly constituted one of Frankby, viz., Greasby, Frankby, and *a part of Newton and Grange*.

The Church is prettily situated, nestling under the western slope of the sandstone eminence, partially planted, here called Grange hill, and surmounted by a landmark, erected in the year 1841 by the Dock Committee of the Liverpool Town Council, as Trustees of the Dock Estate.

Dr. Ormerod states (1819) that the building originally comprised a tower, nave and north aisle, the division between the latter being removed, whilst a piscina and two stalls for officiating priests remain under three niches within the chancel at the extremity of the nave.

The list of Rectors supplied, commences with Nigellus, *temp.* Stephen, patron Ranulphus de Gernones Count of Chester, who dying was succeeded by his son Thomas, and in similar succession, Richard and William. Upon the death of the latter, Symon Dyggons, a clerk of the Abbey of Chester and Chancellor of the County Palatine, was inducted by Roger Abbot of St. Werburgh, in the name of his convent. This appointment bringing us down to the reign of Henry III: we need not further pursue the record here.

Thus far Dr. Ormerod, in his excellent history of the county. Mr. Lysons gives little additional general information, and blunderingly makes the township of Grange identical with Little, in place of Great, Caldey.* Like Dr. Ormerod, he supplies no record or tradition of the *real original* fabrics constituting the Churches of St. Bridget and St. Hildeburga.

Later remarks, and a professed account, with illustrations, of the mediæval structure at the town, appear in the Transactions of our Society; but the statements are fugitive, and, in common with the illustrations, are unfortunately inaccurate in several important particulars—for instance, the very number of the windows and the lights therein. Of the existence above ground of any Anglo-Saxon remains, not the slightest suspicion is entertained by any of the writers above mentioned.

* *Chesh.*, p. 669.

The restoration of old Churches in this country seldom fails to be accompanied by a disclosure of some sepulchral stones of a date far anterior to that of the building renovated, and St. Bridget's has proved no exception to what may be almost termed the rule.

The different alterations effected in St. Bridget's Church must now be briefly adverted to.

Whether the Late-Norman Church was a distinct erection from its Saxon predecessor or not, we have no grounds for determining. Its form we know to have combined a tower (still existing) with a nave and chancel, and aisles, north and south.

Mr. James Middleton, in his *Notes on the Church of West Kirby, Cheshire,** remarks—

"The body of the present Church of West Kirby offers the "curious anomaly of the ridge-plate joining the north-eastern "angle of the tower, the eastern face of which bears the trace "of the gable of the nave having been at some former period "attached centrically, as usual.

* * * * *

"The tower is certainly of much older date than any part "of the nave or chancel at present existing. The moulding "of the battlements is in very good taste, and the coupled "belfry lights are fair in design and execution."

Unfortunately, Mr. Middleton's "young relative, Mr. A. F. "Oridge, at present on the staff of the Borough Engineer of "Liverpool," who made the drawings from which the lithographic plates illustrating the short paper were taken, appears to have but half learnt his business, as the four views are all more or less faulty. I have excellent local authority for stating, that in the north view the Church is not long enough, and *only four instead of five windows* are represented, a

* *Trans.*, Session 1851–2, Vol. IV, pp. 198–9.

buttress also being deficient. Again, the window nearest to the tower, *i.e.*, the westernmost, had but three lights in place of four. The omitted window was the next eastwardly, and had four lights; it differed from the others in having square panes of glass, the rest being supplied with those of lozenge form. A door is depicted by Mr. Oridge on this side, but it was only an old one *walled up;* probably no entrance here was used subsequently to 1788. The pathway in front only existed in the artist's imagination, and during late operations no vestige appeared of an approach.

The tower with its window tracery and battlements are rendered too massive throughout, the windows being placed too high; these are, in fact, unusually low. In the south view some mouldings at the east end are omitted, and the buttresses here are all too slight and not truly shaped. At the east end the chancel window is represented as having only four lights in place of five, and the moulding is deficient. We are very sorry Mr. Middleton did not impress upon his friend the importance of more care; for we cannot suppose a want of ability. Several errors occur in the letter press description of the Church, short as this is, not extending over two pages, but these we must pass by.

In the alterations effected in 1788, the south aisle, wholly unnoticed in his description of the Church by the Rev. Thos. Moore,* was removed. It would seem to have been quite a short one, in this respect resembling that at Woodchurch. A portion of one of the old pillars which had served to separate the nave from this aisle long stood close to the south wall built in 1788. The expenses of the alterations named, with re-roofing and slating, all executed within the year, were defrayed by the sale of the old lead.

The ancient building was getting seriously out of repair, and

* Some Notes on the Parish of West Kirby, in the Hundred of Wirral, by the Rev. Thomas Moore, M.A. *Trans.*, Vol. VII, pp. 12—15.

additional accommodation for the increasing population being urgently required, a restoration was resolved upon and has lately been creditably carried out by the Rector and Churchwardens, assisted by a Restoration Committee, to the great advantage of the parish, although we regret to learn that the re-building fund has hitherto been much in arrear of the disbursements. The architects were Messrs. Kelly and Edwards of Chester, and the contractor Mr. Robert Dobson, Rock Ferry. It was between the (outer) south wall just mentioned and the position of the old pillar at this side of the nave that, mixed with mortar and rubbish, the various remains in stone and wood, about to be described, were, with little exception, disclosed during demolition.

Plates I, II.

These exhibit a portion of the shaft of a small Runic* Cross, 11in. in height, 12in. in width, and 8in. in depth. The first pair of illustrations show the two broader, and the second pair the two narrower sides of this interesting relic of a class of sculptured remains which, although of not unfrequent occurrence in Scotland and Ireland, are rare in England. Upon each of the four sides, complete or fragmentary, appears a Runic knot or braid; two of them are so badly chipped the ornamentation is only recognisable, but their fellows display varieties of the Runic interlacing design of great rarity. Among a number exhibited for comparison are several plates —from his invaluable work, "The early Sculptured Stones of "Scotland and the North of England,"—kindly forwarded by Dr. Stuart. These most graphically illustrate about thirty-four analogous types of detail in this class of ornament, which have occurred in England, Scotland, Isle of Man, &c.; and

* We here use the term in its ordinary and general signification. Originally it was, and more correctly would be applied only to the peculiar characters designated *Runes*.

1.

PORTION OF SHAFT OF A RUNIC CROSS, IN RED SANDSTONE;

VIEWS OF THE BROADER SIDES.

II.

PORTION OF SHAFT OF A RUNIC CROSS, IN RED SANDSTONE;

VIEWS OF THE NARROWER SIDES

III.

LINTEL IN MAGNESIAN LIMESTONE;

(FRACTURED TOWARDS THE ENDS OF THE LOWER PORTION.)

yet not one presents either of the peculiar varieties apparent upon the two perfect sides of this little stone! It proves the marvellous and infinite variation to which the interlacing of wattles or rush-work is capable of being carried. The late Mr. Gilbert A. French, of Bolton, penned a very interesting brochure, well illustrated by examples, to prove this class of ornament to have originated wholly and solely in the osier or rush-work of our Scandinavian ancestry; but we are rather inclined to refer some among the more complicated ones to the Roman Pavements, which, even to our day, existing far more numerously than is generally supposed, offered through their then presence on, or but little below, the surface of the soil,* all the elaboration in Greek and other classic braids and frets of which art is capable. The nearest approach we have detected among the above varieties, appears upon a stone in the churchyard of Kirk Braddan, Isle of Man, but has fewer bands than the broader knot in Plate I, and only two ends appear.—*Vide Kinnebrock's Runic Monuments in the Isle of Man.* The angles of this stone are all *corded,* an ornament but very rarely appearing on contemporary remains.

Plate III.

This exhibits a *Lintel,*† of a pale greenish white stone, polished on the faces, measuring 5½ feet in length by 1½ feet in breadth, but towards either end, where purposely broken away, it is narrower. The block has, to all appearance, been put to some secondary purpose in the various alterations, "improvements," and restorations this poor maltreated erection has undergone,—suffering many things at the hands of many physicians. It presents a uniform thickness

* The rise of land upon long-continued building sites is astonishing; the level of Rome is about 25 feet higher than in the time of the Republic, whilst the foundations of the oldest erections in this country are found to lie, in London 20 to 22 feet, York 16 to 18, and Aldborough, (long but a mere village,) 6 to 8 feet below the present surfaces respectively!

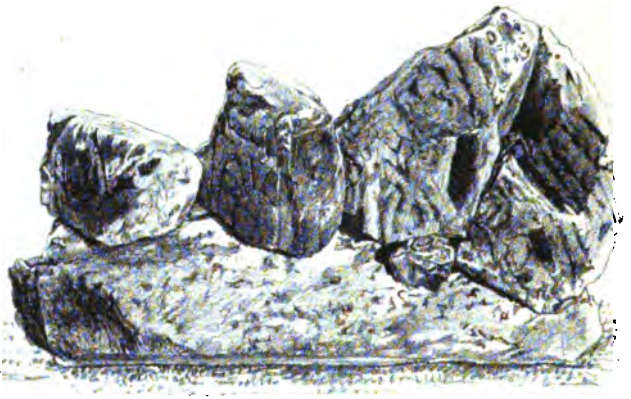
† Possibly originally the shaft of a cross.

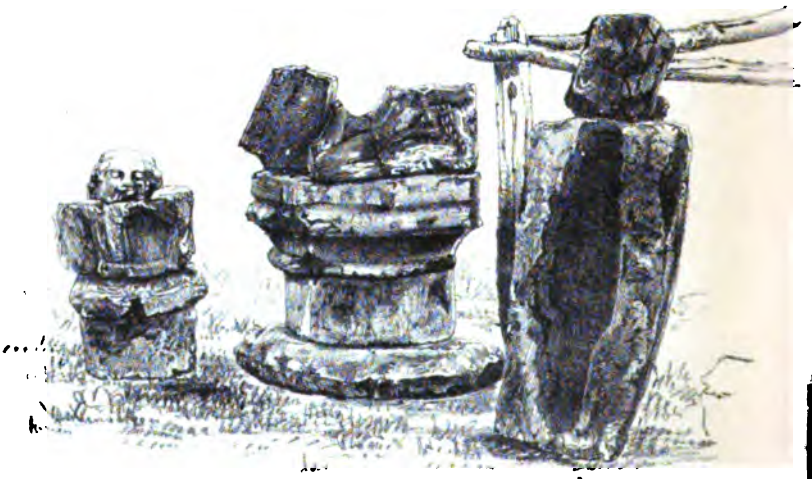
of eight and a half inches at the top, but in the lower portion is bevelled off. Upon what we present as the front, a band of rather loosely-worked treble braid, five inches deep, is sculptured atop and carried throughout the length without any attempt at any border moulding. A second band of similar dimensions may be designated as bearing an imbricated or leaf pattern, but it so nearly coincides with a large longitudinal compartment of similarly arranged *phallic* objects, graven upon the outer wall of the Maison Carèe at Nismes, that it might be held to have been copied therefrom. Below, appears the remains of a border pattern, much resembling, at first sight, that of the well-known classic loop and tassel, but in reality is a peculiar and uncommon variety of a chain-pattern, possibly one of Scandinavian origin. This lower portion of the lintel falls away at either side to a sharp curve, at the centre of which is a plain mould. At the back this succession of patterns is repeated, but their execution is far inferior to that of the side described. The whole ornamentation has been effected by a blunt-pointed chisel, resulting in a frosted appearance. It may be referred to as early a period as the ninth century. The material differs from the rest of the remains, which are composed of the new red (Keuper) sandstone, whilst the lintel is of a different formation, looking much like a hard limestone but feeling like a freestone. As, however, it was not uncommon in early Churches and Chapels to introduce into the new building a sculptured block from some much older and revered foundation, this curious lintel, whose ornamentation is so unusual we cannot recal a similar instance, may have been manipulated in some distant quarry. It is really a freestone of unusually fine and hard grain, the basis being quartz, with a slight admixture of lime; we have good reason for believing the block to have been quarried from some stone bed in Yorkshire, probably in the neighbourhood of Bradford or Halifax.

IV.

SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS, IN RED SANDSTONE;

V.





GROUPS OF MISCELLANEOUS SCULPTURED STONES;

IN RED SANDSTONE IX TO XIV CENTURY.

Plate IV.

Three Headstones are here engraved—that to the left being the oldest, and, in connection with the early sculptures described, may be regarded as but little later than, or about, the tenth century. Atop, and in relief, is a variety of the voided cross, which, when composed of a simple double line, is by no means infrequent at a later period. In this instance, however, we find the design a plain moulded cross within an open one. Below, some ornamentation is visible, but so imperfect as scarcely to warrant conjecture of its original contour. This headstone remains four feet high and two feet and a half broad.

The lesser headstones belong to the thirteenth century, measuring respectively 2¾ by 1½ feet, and 2¼ feet by 10 inches. They are sculptured incusely with floriated crosses, in good design, closely resembling those upon the reverses of the silver pennies of our later Saxon and Danish kings. The art of engraving metals was singularly ahead of similar manipulations with stone, a fact well illustrated in this connexion; but a yet better example still remains, face outwards, in the wall at the west end of the chancel, and abutting upon the tower, at its north-eastern angle, having probably been built therein in early mediæval times, possibly at the erection of the tower. It is now, unfortunately, enclosed within the new roof of the chancel, lost to sight and all chance of reproduction here.

Plate V.

Two groups of fragments serve to complement our series of illustrations of the early Saxon and Norman churches of West Kirkby, *i.e.*, if these can be considered as really distinct erections.

The uppermost group comprises two fragmentary sculptured

Crosses, possibly from headstones. The smaller of the two may have belonged to the Runic Cross, of which we have described and illustrated a lower portion (Plates I, II). Here, again, the corded ornament appears; it is upon the edge or outer rim of the cross,—a part of which being broken off, has been laid face outward for exhibition of its appearance. The angles of both crosses have been deeply chiselled, and becoming chipped behind, have now a perforated appearance. These are of ninth century work, and make a total of four pieces of sculpture of this early national date. The remaining fragments here, with rudely incised *limbs of crosses*, would appear to have been copied by rustic hands from old designs.

In the second group, a small Coffin to the right is also of early date, and interesting from its contents as found, but not preserved. It is 3 feet long and 15 inches wide, but diminishes downward. The receptacle measures 2¾ feet by 9 inches. The child's remains were discovered in concrete, the sand for which had been procured from the neighbouring sea beach, as small marine shells may yet be noticed attached to a patch of mortar within.

The other relics consist of a Male Head, broken below, 9 inches broad, and probably used as an antifix or corbel,—fragments of columns and tracery from windows; but these mediæval remains demand no especial notice here.

Of the oaken backs of Stalls, used by the officiating priests, about a score were disclosed during the restoration; these run upward into rudely formed fleur-de-lis or "poppy-"heads."

The origin of the designation of the Hundred—*Wirral*—has never been satisfactorily explained, even if any studied attempt has been made in this direction. It was not unnatural to seek for the derivation in some early local appellation; but none such, we believe, has been noticed within

its boundaries, except Willaveston, which we discard, and consider all attempts have hitherto proved abortive. The limits of the division in question—the *Cilgwri* of the Ancient Britons—during Saxon times must, however, have been different from those of a later period; this being evidenced by the very earliest known mention of Wirral, which appears in the *English Chronicle*. A late writer in the *Saturday Review** thus introduces it, but for other purposes, in a very interesting and informing article, headed "CHESTER":—

"The desolation and renewal of the City of the Legions, "are facts which admit of no doubt;—we read expressly that "in 894, a Danish army, followed by the forces of King "Alfred and the Ealdorman Æthelred, found shelter within "its forsaken walls and found means also to defend them "during the whole winter. The way in which the Chronicler "describes the desolate site is remarkable. The event hap-"pened '*on aure wæstre ceastre on wirhealum; seo is* "*Ligeceastre haten.*' The Roman city was then a '*waste* "'*chester*,'—the future proper name, curiously enough, being "incidentally used as an appellative, but the '*waste chester*' "still kept the memory of what it had been; it was Lege-"ceaster, the City of the Legions, as indeed it already was in "the days of Bæda."

This application of *wæstre* is founded on a misapprehension; it simply means western.† It is, however, in regard to the derivation of the name of the hundred that we desire now to record a note for the consideration of Topographers. If Wirral included the city of Chester, as we have just seen, the immediate neighbourhood would likewise belong to it; and at no great distance, and absolutely abutting upon its south-eastern border, stands a desolated ancient chapel, in the midst

* November 19th, 1870.

† The quotation is from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *cir.* A.D. 894, in Monum. *Hist. Brit.*, I, 367.

of an isolated hamlet now known as Werven. Let us, through a tabulated form, compare the successive designations of the Hundred and of the Manor, the latter an appanage of the Convent of St. Werburgh, from the time of Hugh Lupus downward.*

Hundred.	*Manor.*
Weahaldus.	
Wirhaelum } (894.)	Wivevrene (*Domesday.*)
Wirhalum } (*Domesday.*)	Wervena (Hugh Lupus's Charter to St. Werburgh's.)
Wirehall (fforeste de Wirehall, *Harl. MS.*, 2115.)	Wyvrir (Saxton's Map.)
Wyrral (Drayton's *Polyolbion.*)	Wirum (Overton's Map.)
Wyrall (Ed. I. Ormerod II. 189)	Wervin (Ormerod 1819.)
Wyre Hall (Overton's Map.)	Wirven (Teesdale's Map.)
Worold (1636.)†	
Werrale (Lysons's Map.)	
Wirrall (18th century.)	
Wirral (19th century.)	

NOTE.—In the *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Cheshire,* published by F. White and Co., Sheffield, 1860, this place is not once mentioned!

Can it be that the coincidences here apparent, especially between the *Wirhalum*, a Saxon dative plural form, and *Wirum*, the natural contraction, are purely accidental? May they not point to the probable existence hereabout in Saxon times, of some *Wireheal* or *Wyre Hall*, giving name to the division of which its demesne formed a part? The nominative of Wirhealen would be *Wirhealas*, which analogy would dictate as *the name of a tribe occupying the district.*

There can be little doubt but that the Cheshire patronymic *Worrall* is also a corruption of Wyre Hall.

* Ormerod's *History*, II, 423–4.

† Poem, "*Iter Lancastrense*," 1636. Edited by Mr. Cunningham, for the Chetham Society.

The Island of St. Hildeburghe.

Of the island of St. Hildeburghe, now the islets of Hilbre, the history is yet to be written. A sketch of its story has strong bearings upon our subject. What is known of the existing remains of its early development, has, with little exception, resulted from pure accident. Much may yet be discovered, even within the very limited area of its soil.*

The islets now consist of Hilbre proper, the "Middle "Island," and "The Eye," *vulgo* "*ee*," which is doubtlessly a traditional appellation, derived from the Scandinavian *Ea*, a water, generally one formed by a river before conjunction with the sea. Eye, on the other hand, is clearly derivable from Ig (pron. *ey*—Gaelic *Ynys*) an island, as also in the case of "Ireland's Eye," off Howth, Bay of Dublin. From one or other of these we must look for the origin of the modern name of the watering-place, *Hoylake*, now threatening to include not merely much of Little Meols and Hoose, but the western part of Great Meols. In confirmation of these remarks we give its successive appellations,—"Lacus "de Hildburg Eye," (*i.e.* Lake of the Island),—Heye-pool,—Hey-pol,—Heye-lake,—Hoylake.

Early Condition.

Lying off the south-western angle of the coast of Wirral, the larger islands not only present a pleasing contrast to the level tameness of the main, especially upon their western sides in rocky boldness, headlands and caves, but prove an invaluable bulwark against the encroachments of the sea.

Appreciating its importance in this connexion, as also for its utility as the residence and depôt of the Superintendent of Buoys, &c., of the River Dee under the Trinity Board,

* "Here, divided from the land," says King in his *Vale Royal*, "lyes that "little barren island called Hilbree;" but from personal experience we can testify to deep and excellent soil, remaining wholly uncultivated, and abounding with curious remains, on Hilbre proper.

and its convenience for a self-registering tide gauge and lifeboat house, the Liverpool Docks and Harbour Board, having purchased the islands from the Dean and Chapter of Chester, about 1856, has shewn great wisdom in repairing Hilbre proper through protecting the more friable portions of the cliffs by excellent masonry. Should the idea—a very easily practicable one—of making a *ship-canal* through the Great Float and the Western Leasowes ever be carried out, Hilbre will prove of incalculable importance.

It now constitutes an extra-parochial liberty of the parish of St. Oswald in Chester.

Before, and probably long subsequently to, the advent of the Romans, these islands constituted an isthmus or promontory of Wirral. From its marine position it would be a place of frequent resort of the primitive fishermen in their oyster-boats or *coracles*. Mr. Graham H. Hills, Marine Surveyor of the Port of Liverpool, is of opinion that Hilbre was a station for observation from very early times, every craft from the higher part of the estuary being visible, whether an east wind carried it by Chester bar and along the Welsh coast, or a west wind through the Hoyle lake and the Horse channel to the sea.*

Roman-British Development.

Mr. Chas. Hardwick, author of the *History of Preston*, has stated his profound conviction, one in which we thoroughly unite, that all our neighbouring coasts were utilised by the energetic Latin race whilst here,—that all the chief estuaries were furnished with *lighthouses*, as the promontories were with *landmarks*. Take the Lancashire and Cheshire seaboard, a *Pharos* would be thus sustained at the mouth of the estuary of Wyre of Ribble and of Dee—that of the Mersey, despite of old and late assertions to the contrary, having at

* *Ancient Meols.*

this era been only a marsh-water, as its name implies; it has been a fresh-water pool inland—and later, a marsh seaward. Those who advocate a different opinion know little of the geological features of its mouth, as displayed at low water, even in quite recent times.

The former promontories of Lytham, Formby and Great Meols would be furnished with marks. Recent investigations tend most powerfully to confirm the supposition, for we have identified traces of Roman occupation, if not near Lytham, approaching, and at Formby and Great Meols, whilst there is every reason to conclude a Pharos existed near the mouths of the Wyre and Ribble and upon Hilbre.

The earliest lighthouses of which we have any record were erected on insular positions.

The first seems to have been reared by Lesches, the author of the "*Little Iliad,*" about the ninth Olympiad, upon the promontory of Sigeum, at the entrance to the Hellespont; it is figured in the Iliac Tables.* The huge turret-shaped building, erected upon the island of Pharos, off Alexandria, served not only as a model for future architects of similar structures, but gave a generic name to its successors in Roman times. The Emperor Claudian caused one to be constructed at Ostia; it was the most remarkable upon the whole Italian seaboard, being situate *upon a breakwater or artificial island, which occupied the mid space between the two huge moles that formed the harbour.*† Its remains were visible until the fifteenth century. A fine Pharos, as Strabo records, was constructed of stone at Capio, entrance to the harbour of Menestheus, the modern Puerto de Santa Maria. Standing upon a rocky headland, all but surrounded by the sea, it served excellently to guide vessels through the dangerously shallow channels off the mouth of the Guadalquiver. The

* Lighthouses and Lightships, 1870, p. 13.

† Suetonius, Claudian, 20.

Pharos on the chalk down above Dover, is almost the only one in this country of which remains exist dating from the Roman era: it is not supposed to have continued in use later than the Norman Conquest.

The fact is of no small importance in this connexion, that as Ancient-British instruments, in manipulated flint, are associated, as regards site, with Roman coins and other objects upon the Meols beach; so upon Hilbre, at a distance of four miles, *and nowhere between*, we find relics of both eras! The flints are chiefly to be met with on the beach of the little Eye, washed out from the sole remains of the rapidly-diminishing bank (surmounted by the landmark), and in the face of which examples may at times be found protruding.

Certainly the isthmus would be utilised, commanding as it did the great water approach to the important city of Deva, whose walls were laved by every ocean tide. The foundations and other remains of its Roman *buildings* would, we may well suppose, be availed of in the erection of the Christian Church, as at Hexham, Lanercost, Reculver, York, Aldborough, and hundreds of other instances in our country. As it is, the few remains of such occupation, yet reserved to our day, are confined to coins and personal ornaments. These include—

A bronze Fibula, imperfect, but which has been of larger dimensions than any example found on the main; it has been enamelled in blue upon the breast of the bowed portion.

A *second*, of smaller size.

Buckles, of bronze, with bevelled frames and in several sizes. Objects of this class, dating from the Roman period, are very rare.

Bead, in glass, of large size and rich cobalt-blue colour, inlaid with a wavy band of yellow, entwined by a thread of green, the latter composed of opaque enamels. This is a superior specimen of its class; it was exuded with soil from what is believed to be the deepest rabbit-burrow upon the

island, lying in the rich earth formerly the *Cemetery of the Saxon Church.* The Roman beads, especially when large and showy in colour, were in great demand by the Saxon ladies, who highly prized them, and justly, as far superior in quality and colour to those of northern make. They were especially selected for the gaud or central bead of the necklace. Many excellent examples may be seen in the Faussett Collection, obtained from Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, all of which, it will be remembered, were used in the earlier or *Pagan* times; nevertheless, this beautiful bead may have been worn by some lady connected with the early Church, possibly St. Hildeburghe herself.

Anglo-Saxon Period.

We now come to the era of the Christianized Saxons, and the erection of the Church dedicated to Saint Hildeburghe.

As we have seen, the earliest recorded designation of the original island was *Hildeburgh-eye,* the former part of which all must acknowledge to be a proper name. The lady in question would be either proprietress or the saint to which the earlier Church was dedicated; and we consider excellent analogical grounds exist for the latter assumption. The name, as elsewhere, would naturally be transferred, in course of time, from the Church to the whole island as it became more thoroughly insulated, and the *Saint* of the ancient appellation has accidentally dropped out of use, as in many other cases. Cheshire is the very home of corruptions and contractions of names. In a manuscript written by Sir Peter Leycester, now at Peover Hall, this author enumerates no less than *one hundred and thirty-one combinations of letters,* used in the more or less corrupted forms of *Mesnilverin,* at present written Mainwaring.* Our own pages supply curious instances of the persistent and increasing tendency to contraction.

* Mortimer's *History of the Hundred of Wirral,* 1847. Introd. xiv.

A well-known local writer, our friend Mr. Joseph Boult, eschewing all such considerations as *inconvenient*, refuses to believe in the existence of any such person as Hildeburgh, plainly stating his belief that it is a mere relic of a legend, invented by the monks of the "cell" here, to enhance the attractiveness of the island, for devotees. He wholly confounds the early Anglo-Saxon Church, of which such clear mention is made, with that of the mediæval convent dedicated to "Our Ladye." The redundant scepticism of this gentleman has, however, on many other points thrown him into direct antagonism with antiquaries, some of which, bearing as they do on the features of this district, ought in candour to be noted.

For an unknown number of centuries past the encroachments of the sea upon the beach of Wirral has continued to expose, by the denuding of their covering of clay and sand, fresh stumps of trees, many of considerable size. This locality has long borne the designation of *sub-marine forest*, but the term is incorrect and misleading. Along the range of shore between Mr. Shaw's house and the western end of the Leasowe embankment, an area, varying from twenty to thirty feet, may at all times be noticed at ebb tide abounding with tree stumps; to seaward some as regularly disappear as others are cleared of the overlying sand landward. This is the upper arboreal stratum; a second, less numerously studded with trees, lies below, the two being separated by a deep bed of blue clay. These have too often been confounded with *peat*, which is composed almost wholly of *sphagnum*, whereas the mass, in which the stumps and occasional trunks of trees appear, is wholly arboreal or nearly so. In the higher portion, leaves and roots of the common *flag* appear, a later growth, when the wood was decaying in the marsh, as may now be seen from the railway beyond the Point of Ayr, on the opposite shore of Flintshire. The rest of the composition of the

stratum is purely arboreal, roots, stems or trunks, branches, leaves, fruit, of shrubs and forest trees, all are here—all blackened through long decay in water, and including oak, beech, larch, chesnut, hazel, and probably others as yet undetected, the larch predominating. All are naturally upright, yet Mr. Boult asserts that these innumerable trees have never grown where found, but, dislodged by flood from inland mosses, have been deposited as sediment upon our shores! Mr. Charles Potter concurs in their non-growth *in situ*, and bolsters up his belief by specious assertions, but these have landed him in such a quagmire of fallacies and misconception of palpable facts, that his theory is becoming quite a byword among local students. We had hoped that, before ventilating his peculiar theories, this gentleman would have gained a more lengthened experience of the peculiar features of this beach; but unfortunately he has not only written papers for the Geological Society, but rushed into print with crotchets which his geological friends are fain to ignore, and which all archæology is "dead" against. These arboreal strata are simply in an unmineralized stage, an early one in the history of a coal field. They occupy, at varying depths below the surface and wholly disconnected with the modern "mosses," the area of all the lower-lying lands of Lancashire and Cheshire.

These woods were of very early growth, especially the lower one, and even the upper had flourished and decayed long anterior to the advent of the Romans in this district, as is clearly demonstrated by the industrial products of the Roman-British era, which are invariably found lying upon the surface of the upper bed on the receding of the tides, washed out from the blue clay above, which is here but a few inches in thickness, whilst between the arboreal beds below it has been found to measure above two feet. These facts admit of no honest denial, but Mr. Boult confuses two distinct classes of relics when he sneers at "many thousands of Roman objects"

as said to have been found here. They do not number as many hundreds; nor is it likely, when the very site of the Roman settlement has long been washed away. As supplying some idea of the destruction still in progress on this beach, we have been credibly informed that a breadth of not less than twelve feet of the bank, landward, fell away during the late spring tides! The Dove Mark has necessarily been re-erected three, if not four, times during the past twelve or fifteen years.

Mr. Boult also denies the former existence of a second Church in the parish of Kirkby in Walley (Wallasey), despite Bishop Gastrell's assertion, which has already been referred to.

Again, although it would be no unreasonable supposition that a *burial ground* was attached to this recorded church, the "*Kirkway*" to which still retained its designation to a late period, Mr. Boult laughs the idea to scorn, and disputes the account of its discovery as reported by the late Mr. Alex. Nimmo and others, upon the occasion of a survey for a suggested ship-canal to connect the rivers Mersey and Dee.* Our own belief in the desolated graveyard has been confirmed by the statement of a neighbour, who, in company with a friend, chanced to take a stroll down here at low water, after an unusual spell of north-easterly winds, which had cleared off the sand to such an extent that they were quite astonished at suddenly finding themselves among tombstones, short headstones, and longer recumbent ones. No inscriptions were noticed, but yet some might be graven, for such would not be searched for by country people. Only those who have had a fair amount of experience in perambulating this beach can have any conception of the varying accretions of sand by different winds. It is well known to fishermen that wrecks such as the St. Andrew, lost here many

* *Vide* Report by T. Telford, Robert Stevenson, and Alex. Nimmo, 16th May, 1828, Appendix C.

years ago, are, at some ebbs of spring tide, four or five feet above the surface, and at others all but invisible, if not wholly so.

Lastly, Mr. Boult asserts that the "church of the island," given with others by Robert de Roelent to the Convent of St. Ebrulf, was really that "Kirkby in Walley" (Wallasey), although the charters of St. Werburg distinctly say "Chapel "of Hildeburg-eye." Even had we no such record, the probabilities would all lie in favour of Hilbre. Historians are all agreed on the point; and had we erred, it would have been in good company. There can be no doubt, however, that Wallasey, as its name implies (woody island), was insulated in early times, but certainly not so lately as the Norman era. Wirral itself is conjectured to have formed part of the site of one of the five fortified woods in the Sistuntian Districts, belonging to the Brigantes, to which they retired when pursued by their enemies. This forest is said to have extended from the Ribble to the Dee, and the names of various places bear out this belief, as *Woodside*, Birken-haven (i.e. *Birchen*),—Birket-stream,—*Wood*-church,—and Wallasey (a grove or wood on the island).*

Had we Mr. Boult's apparent convictions we should be disposed to throw all our county histories into the fire and concoct others more in consonance with our paramount opinions. As it is, we distinctly and firmly decline to be led aside into this gentleman's sometimes very plausible and ingenious, but delusive and dangerous labyrinths.

We are unacquainted with any other religious foundation claiming this Saint as patroness; but *Hildburghausen* is the name of a town in central Germany, which, once the capital of the Duchy of *Saxe Hilburghausen* (afterwards united to Saxe Meiningen), lies upon the river Werra, twenty miles from Coburg, and has over 5,000 inhabitants.

* *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Wirral Hundred.* 1866.

The name, as orthographically rendered Hildeburgha by historians,—a latinised form of the Saxon Hildeburghe,—does not occur among the multitude recorded in Dr. Husenbeth's *Emblems of Saints*—a most useful manual.

In the Old English Calendar one would have expected to find it, but once again we turn to Chambers's *Book of Days.* Here appears a notice of a *Saint Idaburga or Edburge of Mercia, virgin, of about 7th century.** Evidently the orthography has been rather loose, but taking all the circumstances into consideration, it seems highly probable that Idaburga, or Ildaburga, and Hildeburga were one and the same individual. At any rate the last name was destined henceforward to be associated with these Islands, corrupted as it is from St. Hildeburgh's Eye,† Hildburg-eye, Hildbury,‡ Hillbyri,§ Hilbury, Hilburge, Hilburg, Hilbery, Hillbree, Hilbree, into the shortest of the short, the Hilbre of our day.

All the known history of St. Hildeburga's Church is so interwoven with that of the "*mother one*" of West Kirkby that we have already supplied the record, until we come to the time of King Richard, after the release of the convent of St. Ebrulf (or Evroul, as it is later rendered) when a separation was effected in this wise.

"This convent released it to the Abbey of St. Werburg "with that Church, under the name of Capella de Hildburgh-"eye, or the Isle of Hildburgha, from which the present "name is corrupted; and William Fitz-Richard, rector of "Kirkby about the time of Richard I, after Kirkby had "passed to the Abbey of Basingwerk from that of St. Wer-"burg, by a deed preserved in the Chartulary of the latter "abbey, *quit-claimed* the isle Hildburgheye, with its chapel "and appurtenances, to the monks of that house, reserving "only the right of sepulture to the *mother church* of Kirkby.‖

* Vol. i, p. 798. † Chart. of St. Werburg, p. 23; Harl. MSS., 1965.
‡ Lyson's *Cheshire*, p. 619. § *Leland*, vol. v., 55. ‖ *Ibid.*

"The cell which the monks of St. Werburgh established "here, had a grant* of 8*l.* issuing from little Meoles by "Robert de Lancelyn about the time of Richard I. William "Lancelyn, his son, quit-claimed also to the same monks for "ever, the lake (meaning the fishery) of Hoyle lake adjacent, "under the description of 'lacus de Hildburgheye, que vo-"'catur Heye pol.' The same William Lancelyn gave† also "a messuage in Little Meoles, which grant was confirmed "by Robert Grosvenor and Margery his wife, 'dominos "'capitales.'"‡

Leland observes of this island, that "at the floode it is al "environed with water as an isle, and then the trajectus is a "quarter of a mile over, and four fadome deep of water, and "at ebbe a man may go over the sand. It is about a mile in "compace, and the ground is sandy and hath conies. There "was a celle of monks of Chester, and a pilgrimage of our "lady of Hillbyri."§

A similar account occurs in the introduction to Holinshed's *Chronicles*.

"It [Hilbre] was included within the parish of their Church "of St. Oswald, to which it still continues attached, although "it is twenty miles distant from any other portion of the "parish.

"Like the Holy Islands of Lindisfarne, it was the object "of superstitious pilgrimage; and like those islands alter-"nately joined to or separated from the contiguous mainland "by the variation of the tide.

"With the flow and ebb it still
Varies from continent to isle,
Dry shod o'er sands twice every day,
The pilgrims to the shrine find way;
Twice every day the waves efface
Of staves and sandal'd feet the trace."

Marmion.

* Chart. of St. Werburgh, p. 23; Harl. MSS., 1965. † *Ibid.* ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Vol. v, 55.

"The sanctity of the shrine of Hilbree is said to have been "manifested by a miraculous interposition of St. Werburgh, in "favour of Richard Earl of Chester, in the life of his sainted "patroness. The earl was performing a solemn pilgrimage to "St. Winifred's Well, on the opposite shore of Flintshire, when "he was attacked by a band of Welsh insurgents, and driven "into the Abbey of Basingwerk, which seemed likely to afford "him only a temporary security. In this dilemma he addressed "himself to St. Werburgh, who is said to have instantly parted "the water of the Dee by the formation of new sand banks, "over which his constable, the Baron of Halton, marched "troops to the relief of his lord: these banks have since "retained the name of the Constable's Sands.

"Of this cell there are not the slightest remains. The "island is at present used as the situation of two large land-"marks to guide vessels into the Hoyle Lake. A light was "maintained here for the same purpose at a very early period, "to which John Scott Earl of Chester contributed 10s. per "annum, 20 Henry III.*

Michael Drayton, in his *Polyolbion*, thus alludes to Hilbre and its position: he terms it the "Corner of Werrall."

Mersey for more state
Assuming broader banks him selfe so proudly beares,
That at his sterne approach, extended Wyrrall feares,
That (what betwixt his floods of Mersey and the Dee)
In very little time devoured he might be;
Out of the foaming surge, till Hilbre lifts his head,
To let the foreland see how richly he had sped.
Which Mersey cheeres so much, that with a smiling brow,
He fawnes on both these floods, their amorous armes that throw.

A monk of St. Werburgh's, named Bradshaw, writing in the fifteenth century, when alluding to the above incident, represents the neighbouring waters,—long known in con-

* Stone's MSS., Chester Cathedral.

nexion with the rest of the estuary as *Chester water*,—as perfectly free for all craft during the twelfth.

> The constable congregate in all goodly haste,
> A myghtye stronge host, in theyr best arraye,
> Towards Hilburgee on iorney ridyng fast,
> Trusting upon shippes, all them to convaye,
> Which was a *riall rode*, that tyme, night and daye,
> And when they thedyr came, shippyng none there was,
> To carie all them over in convenient space.
> *Life of St. Werburge* (p. 108). *Chetham Society.*

Dr. Ormerod acknowledges the absence of any remains of the mediæval "cell;" but before addressing ourselves to this subject, the relics of *St. Hildeburga's Church* and times claim emphatic notice.

About the year 1853 the head of a fine Cross was discovered by the late Mr. Thomas Hughes, keeper of the telegraph station: it is of the local red sandstone, and displays a cross of rather unusual character, which has been illustrated in our Transactions,* and likewise in *Ancient Meols*.† Dr. Hume supposes this stone, which dates from the 9th or 10th century, to be identical with the cross represented upon Camden's map of the island, and marking the site of the holy place. It no doubt stood in the ancient *Cemetery* and near the *Church*, a large number of the flag-stones from the floor of which were found and utilised by the late Mr. Stephen Barnett, Superintendent of the Buoys of the River Dee, and long a resident here. In his garden was a square excavation in the rock, said to have been used by the monks as a bath; it is now used as a greenhouse! The cross is similar in design to several remaining in Ireland and the Isle of Man, except in its circular border, which closely approximates to a variety of the Greek *meandros*, and is of rare occurrence, as we have only been able to discover it (but associated with other details) upon the following crosses, all situate in the Isle of Man, viz.,

* Vol. xv., 1862-3, p. 233. † p. 267.

Ballaugh churchyard, with *Runes*; Kirkandrew's Green, at the church gates; Garden of the Vicarage, Jurby. Taking the whole design, the nearest we have seen is figured in Kinnebrock's *Runic Monuments of the Isle of Man*, No. 10. This cross is situate by the side of the high road, one and a half miles from Ramsey, toward Kirk Maughold; it is formed of freestone, is five feet in height, width two feet eight inches. Another relic of the early Hilbre Church we found several feet under the sod near the site of the cross; it is a piece of a cornice-moulding or pilaster in stucco, and of excellent composition, or the alkalis of the soil would have long since disintegrated it. Stones, well squared which have plainly belonged to a superior erection for so isolated a position as this, in considerable number, remain as foundation, &c., of a gig and cart house; these may either have formed part of the Convent or its Chapel, successor of the Church of St. Hildeburga.

Turning to the surrounding open ground, a space containing nearly a quarter of an acre, is supposed, and with good reason, to have formed the Cemetery of the Church and Chapel in succession. It was here that the Cross was found, and in September 1864, we had the pleasure of uncovering an interesting sepulchral stone of the 11th century, the upper end of which displays "a plain cross, limbed at the "extremities and continued through two concentric circles, "a pellet occupies the centre and others the angles of the "cross. The whole is bordered by an outer bead at the "edge of the block, the dimensions of which are,—length, "five feet four inches; breadth at head, twenty-one inches; "shoulders, twenty-two inches; foot, seventeen inches; "thickness varying from five to six inches. The weight "was found to be so great that removal at the time was "quite out of the question." *

This horizontal sepulchral stone still remains *in situ*, and

* *Vide Trans.* vol. xvii., p. 271, for particulars of this discovery.

whilst lately uncovering its top to shew the design to a friend, we found on a slight examination at its north-western side that a drain, at some very uncertain period, had been carried thus far, and still caused wetness in a bed of sand here accumulated. All around and below, the soil proves rich, and thus contrasts strongly with the poverty at the surface, filled as it is with *debris* of former buildings. This soil is enriched by no inconsiderable amount of decayed animal matter, and human remains devoid of any trace of receptacle, of all ages, and lying at every possible angle. These are not improbably the remains of persons found drowned upon the beach and who have been interred in the handiest spot where a fair depth of soil favoured the dismal operation. At the distance of about a hundred feet to the southward of the site of the horizontal stone and its late neighbour "the cross," now in possession of Dr. Hume, is the burrow mentioned whence the fine Roman Bead was extracted by the rabbit. Smaller Beads, barrel-shaped and blue in colour, have been found by Miss Hughes in her late father's garden; *beads of this shape we only meet with among ancient Egyptian and Saxon remains.*

The soil of Hilbre proper is replete with *debris*, no doubt of various ages, and yet mediæval objects are very rarely noticed. The foundations, like those of the common houses or cottages of ancient Meols, are found "puddled" with blue clay from the beach, in place of mortar.

Of the pilgrimage to the shrine of the Virgin Mary here erected by the monks of the convent or "cell" within their chapel, above mentioned by the mediæval historians, we know of only a single relic, but it is one of considerable interest, having without doubt been obtained, *i.e.*, purchased, at a shrine in the centre of France, and lost by the devotee either upon journeying to, or returning from our island shrine. We quote from our article, intituled "Seals and Pilgrims' Signs," com-

municated to "*Ancient Meols*"* :—"Plate XXVII, fig. 6. "Fragment (the upper portion) of a sign of 'Our Ladye of "'Roc St. Amadour,' in lead, date 13th to 14th century. "Several perfect examples of differing types of this interest-"ing sign have occurred in France, and, connected as they "are with a once highly-celebrated continental shrine, now "utterly neglected and all but unknown, we cannot do better "than transfer to our pages, from the *Collectanea Antiqua*,† "all the information which appears to have hitherto been "gleaned respecting it. Although the first recorded instance "of the occurrence of the sign in this country, it yet proves "the widely-extended fame of the old Hermitage (?) chapel. "It is in the collection of the writer of this chapter.

"An oval plate, with a representation of the Virgin, "crowned, nimbed, and holding a sceptre, seated with the "Infant Jesus in her lap, and inscribed ✠ 'Sigillum Beate "'Marie, de Roc Amador.' M. Hucher correctly assigns "the date to the 13th century, or, possibly, to the early part "of the 14th. An example, in larger module, is etched by "Mr. W. H. King (from my own collection) in the 'Publi-"cations of the Antiquarian Etching Club,' part III, 1853, "and is now in the British Museum. It appears to be of the "12th century, and differs somewhat in detail from M. "Hucher's; the nimbus of the Virgin is surrounded by a "shaded pattern, that of the infant shews three points of a "cross, and the embossed legs of the chair terminate upwards "in fleur de lys. They both have been cut from the matrices "of seals, and adapted for sewing upon the dress.

"'Roc Amadour,' M. Hucher tells us, 'is a celebrated "'place of pilgrimage, situate in the middle of the ancient "'province of Quercy (a division of Guienne in Aquitaine), "'at eighteen kilometers north-east of Gourdon. Placed in "'the bosom of a site exceedingly picturesque, it seems sus-

* Pp. 283-4. † Vol. IV, pp. 168-70.

"'pended between heaven and earth. Roc Amadour owes its "'renown partly to the worship paid, from the most remote "'times, to the sacred Virgin, in a particular chapel of the "'Church of that locality, and partly to the relics of St. "'Amadour, which have been preserved there for ages, and of "'which some remains are still shewn. The chapel is of the "'simplest construction and its altar is of wood. The effigy "'of the Virgin is small, and painted black. The origin of "'the pilgrimage of St. Amadour is lost in the night of time, "'the history of the sacred personage himself is not well "'understood, some confounding him with the Zaccheus of "'the New Testament, and others with St. Amateur, Bishop "'of Auxerre.

"'St. Louis, convalescent from a long sickness, made, in "'1244, a pilgrimage to our Lady of Roc-Amadour, as did "'Charles le Bel and John of Bohemia in 1634; and in 1463 "'the weak and superstitious Louis XI bestowed at her shrine "'a share of his devotions, carrying away with him, upon his "'hat, we may suppose, one of the leaden signs of which he "'was so fond. Friends and enemies equally respected the "'pilgrims who carried these tokens; and there is on record "'an account of an Englishman who had been captured by "'the soldiers of Cahors, having been set at liberty imme- "'diately he was recognised as a pilgrim of our Lady of "'Roc-Amadour.* The English acted in like manner; but "'to render this privilege available, it was necessary to carry "'the particular sign, called in the Latin deed *sportula* or "'*sportella*, bearing on one side the image of the Virgin, "'and on the other that of St. Amadour. The people of the "'town manufactured them in a somewhat different manner, "'introducing the Veronica, but these were not so esteemed as "'the others. The Bishop of Tulle, as Abbé of Roc-Amadour, "'granted the right to the former, and forbade the inhabitants

* *L'Abbé de Fouilhiac Chron. Manusc. du Quercy à l'an* 1399.

"'to make them. But they sold both kinds to make a live-
"'lihood in those troublous times. At last it happened, in
"'1425, that the Bishop permitted the inhabitants to sell
"'both these kinds of signs during two years.'"

Signe of Our Ladye of Roc St. Amadour;
A Relique of "Ye Pilgrymage of Our Ladye of Hilbyri."
Coll. H. Ecroyd Smith.

ON THE ART OF POTTERY.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., Vice-President.

(Read 9th March, 1871.)

To compile a paper upon the Art of Pottery, suitable in all respects to the audience I see around me, is a task of no common difficulty—for, on the one hand, the subject is so vast, a hundred volumes have not yet done it justice; and on the other, should I skim round its outline with that speed which time would compel me to use, I could not but be conscious that the work was ill done, and that I was repeating the words and story which a host of studious gentlemen have already set out at proper length. The Art of Pottery, in these later days, has had at least its share of attention on the part of students and writers. From Brongniart to Meteyard, from Birch to Marryat, the history of the art has been patiently and conscientiously pursued. None of these authors, perhaps, have made very startling discoveries, and I have none of my own achieving to set before you now. Pottery has been a craft steadily progressive from the first. Some secrets, of more or less value, have been lost from time to time; war or bad management has ruined many famous seats of manufacture; Xeuxis or Raffaelle has designed the ware, or, again, some 'prentice hand has done his best to vitiate the public taste; fashions have worked their will; an indiscriminating rage for cheapness has had its way; but the art has always progressed. Its history, though lightened by many graceful and romantic legends, is one of success, and the history of success is generally tame. Those who would know from what beginnings our modern pottery has reached its pitch of excellence, will find a score of voluminous tomes

to enlighten them. I think that I should better employ your time, and I hope fulfil your wishes, in going somewhat astray from the beaten track of history, out into the hedges and the copses, seeking what may be gleaned therein of interesting and novel. Since time will not permit me to elaborate, and propriety of place forbids the introduction of merely technical details, I must plead the necessity of the case if my mode of treatment seem to be rather desultory.

Antiquity of the Potter's Craft.

So far as circumstantial evidence will enable us to decide, the potter's craft is the oldest of the arts. It came next, to all seeming, after the invention of those tools and weapons which are absolutely needful for the support or preservation of the savage life. The shell mounds of Denmark, says Mr. Nilsson, "abound in instruments of hand-made pottery," though no traces of metals exist. So it is found in all other countries. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to note that the "lake-dwellers" had carried the art to some success, even in their oldest seats. Before man had so far advanced as to gain the service of any animal except the dog—before, it may be, he had learned to build himself a dwelling, he had begun to manufacture "crocks." They were of the rudest form, of course; made of unpicked and unworked clay, hand-shaped, and sun-dried. Frequently enough, when the somewhat obvious device of artificially drying their earthen vessels had dawned upon them, the forefathers of our race plastered a wickerwork basket with clay, and burnt it. In the process, the osier or rushes were consumed, and the pot came from the fire ornamented with the cross-markings of the wicker. I allude to this, as shewing once more how extremes meet.

A modern trick likened to ancient methods.

Modern imitators of the charming old Dresden statuettes ingeniously counterfeit the lace-work thereon, by draping their figures in gossamer cotton thread

which has been previously dipped in a mixture of gum and clay. In firing, the thread dries up and vanishes, leaving the clay suspended like lace.

Earliest pottery, if perfect, found in tombs.

What specimens we can boast of this primeval earthenware, at least in a perfect state, come to us from the graves of its former owners. I do not call to mind any nation of antiquity in whose funereal rites vessels of earthenware had not a most important part. To this happy circumstance we owe what knowledge has come down to us as to the advance of some most interesting peoples in the art. That strange nation of Chaldæans, to whose patience and intelligence we owe, perhaps, the beginning of science, has left us, of all its antique magnificence, only a few clay hillocks which once were temples, and its curious tombs of pottery. These are of two kinds, the surface tomb and the buried coffin. The former of them is much the rarer, though vastly more frequent than the brick vault, of which some specimens have been found. The surface tomb was made in this manner: a pavement of sun-dried brick was laid upon the bare earth: on this was spread a mat; the corpse they stretched upon the mat, doubled over, and with its right arm bent across the body so that the hand should lie in the little copper food-dish on the left hand side. Earthen pots, dishes, and sometimes a lamp, were strewn about, with various personal ornaments of the deceased; over all, was set down a gigantic vessel of burnt pottery, shaped just like a dish cover, oval, decorated with rings, and panelled at the flat top, something like our doors. These astonishing trophies of the ancient potter's skill are commonly seven feet long, two to three feet high, and two feet six inches broad at bottom. They are made in one piece. The mighty dish constructed to hold Domitian's turbot, which roused Juvenal's satirical ire, was not so large, if we take M. Brongniart's somewhat arbitrary measurement.

The second form of Chaldean burial would seem almost more curious, had we not examples of it in other parts of the world. Two great jars of earthenware, three feet deep by two broad, were prepared. The corpse, somewhat bent at the knees, was slipped into one, the other was thrust over its head; the joining was covered with bitumen, and the coffin, so simply formed, was buried in an artificial mound. There is not here any great proof of skill, but the drainage of these mounds, which often held some scores of dead, shows that antique tradition did not exaggerate the practical science of the Chaldees. They are drained by shafts, reaching from the bottom of the heap to the outer air. These shafts are built of earthenware rings, two feet in diameter, by eighteen inches high, mortised one to another with bitumen. Each ring or section of the pipe is concave, better to resist the pressure. The top piece, which narrows to a small opening by convex steps, is pierced with holes. The drain is filled with broken pottery, and is enclosed in the same for a space of a foot each way. It would puzzle all the ingenuity of modern engineers to design a plan as admirably fitted to its intended purpose; to better it is impossible, since the bodies so protected are found perfect at this day, though crumbling to pieces on exposure. A third kind of burial, also hidden under the earth, is described by Mr. Loftus. The vessel used for the purpose was slipper-shaped, very elaborately patterned with figures of armed men, each in the same attitude, on a panel eight inches square. The opening for the ancle, as one might say, was covered with a lid. These coffins, I believe, are only found at Warka, the ruined city which Mr. Loftus had the privilege of introducing to our knowledge.

Enamelled tiles also, and inscribed cylinders such as people are used more especially to connect with Assyria, are almost as universal in Chaldæan ruins. Mr. Taylor

found them at Mugheir, both in the temple and in a house he excavated at that spot. But it should be noted that the Chaldæan sacred places were highly venerated by the Assyrians also. From this fact some uncertainty hangs about the date of matters of ornament.

Terra-cotta cones, of several colours, were employed to decorate the outside of Chaldæan houses. They were arranged in mosaics, of various patterns. To finish the use of earthenware in building, by this most interesting people, I must mention the discovery of a tier of wide-mouthed cone-shaped vases by Mr. Loftus, in the outer wall of a house at Warka. The cone or body of the urn was solid, and the broad mouth lay flush with the bricks above and below. Whether the vessels so singularly placed answered any purpose, or whether they were considered an ornament, passes our knowledge. Greeks, and Romans also, used *amphoræ* in this manner, either to convey sound more clearly, or to lighten the pressure of a heavy roof. The ordinary ware of the Chaldæans, as we find it in the tombs at Warka, was surprisingly elegant, if we believe it to be of the age the discoverer thought. But Professor Rawlinson, an authority of the highest rank, apparently discredits the suggested date of these graceful objects. He seems to consider that pure Chaldæan pottery, extremely rude at its earliest, never reached the excellence attributed to it by the evidence of these specimens.

Urn Coffins in Corsica.

I have said that the custom of burying the dead between two urns is not peculiar to Chaldæa. That very interesting Island, Corsica, shows us a practice exactly similar. So admirably is the joining of the two jars fitted in these instances, that some have supposed the body was placed inside before the vessels were baked. This suggestion is not without reason. At Susa, the ancient city of Persia, corpses are

found buried in a vessel which they could not possibly have been made to enter through the mouth. There is no doubt that the jar was, in their case, moulded over the body, and pierced to allow the gases to escape.

In Greece.

The famous discoveries at Salona prove that even the Greeks used this mode of burial at some uncertain date. They employed but one vessel, sawn in two down its length. The corpse was slipped between, and the coffin put under ground. No special form of jar was used by them, but, apparently, a very large amphora. I would remind you that our forefathers in this island sometimes made coffins after the same model, but in wood. They sawed a tree-trunk lengthwise, hollowed out each piece, and put the body inside. Such have been found in various places in Kent and Sussex, and in Northumberland.

Wood Coffins of like fashion in Britain.

And among Indians of Brazil.

An Indian tribe of Brazil, the Corados, are described by M. Debret as burying their chiefs in great earthenware jars. The body is thrust in sitting, with its ornaments, fans of feathers, and arms. On discovery, it is found to be mummied, whether before interment, or so altered by the circumstances of burial, does not appear. Nor must I omit to mark a curious passage in Pliny's Natural History bearing on this point. In his eulogy upon the "bounteous earth," he remarks that "many people have chosen to be buried in *solia* of earthenware." The common meaning of *solium* is certainly a seat or chair. Frequently used, however, for the sitting bench of a large bath, it came, by synetuche, to signify the bath itself. Suetonius uses it to express a marble sarcophagus (Nero, 50). But the remainder of the passage forbids me to believe that a mere sarcophagus was intended, the more especially since such vessels were too common for

notice. Pliny goes on: "M. Varro, for instance, was buried in the true Pythagorean style, amidst leaves of myrtle, olive, and black poplar; indeed, the greater part of mankind make use of earthen vases for this purpose." I will not pretend to say exactly what this means, but I am convinced that it cannot be any allusion to the ashes of the dead. The paragraph will be found, lib. xxxv., cap. 46. Varro himself tells us that both Cato and Cicero expressed their wish to be buried in earthen urns. Cato, we are aware, was an enthusiast in the matter of pottery. He repeatedly upheld the modest and decent service of earthenware against the prevailing extravagance of gold and silver plate.

Assyrian Art.

Assyrian pottery will not detain us long. It very strongly resembles the Egyptian, though somewhat more elegant in shape, and thinner. It is likewise brighter of colouring, and made for purposes in which the Egyptian used other materials. Professor Rawlinson will not allow us to suppose that the great Asian monarchy was indebted to Africa for her arts; but the student cannot fail to note an astonishing resemblance between them. At the same time, the old idea of a colonisation from Egypt is quite untenable. The Assyrians used terra-cotta largely in the ornamentation of their houses. As you know, a line of granite slabs, sculptured with the great doings of their monarchs, formed a lofty wainscot to their halls, whilst the short corridors leading from one to another were decorated with colossal bulls, &c. Above these slabs ran a line of tilework, of very graceful and ingenious device, but subdued in tone. Pale blue, olive geeen, and dull yellow predominated, with white, black, and brown occasionally introduced; red was rare. To this line of Arabesques, if we may follow up Mr. Layard's system of restoration, succeeded a zone of figures, also represented in tilework, rather more highly coloured. These enamels, whilst

reminding us of Chaldæan art, show a vast improvement. The Assyrians also made statuettes in clay, some, if not all of which, were coloured. But the most striking use to which they put their skill in earthenware was the manufacture of those historical tablets set up by the kings to commemorate their successes and their piety. They are hexagonal or octagonal prisms in shape, and vary from a foot and a half to three feet in height. The material is terra-cotta of the thinnest and finest description, and "they are covered closely," says Professor Rawlinson, "with a small writing, which it often requires a good magnifying glass to decipher. A cylinder of Tiglath Pileser I. (about B.C. 1180) contains thirty lines in a space of six inches, or five lines to to an inch, which is as close as the type of the present volume." I quote from *The Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i., cap. 5. "This degree of closeness is exceeded on a cylinder of Asshur-bani-pals (about B.C. 660), where the lines are six to an inch, or, as near together as the type of the *Edinburgh Review*." That cuneiform scholars, laboriously working out a language dead long since, from inscriptions of which no alphabet remains, do not bless the skill of those ancient scribes, will easily be believed. Besides these cylinders, vast numbers of flat tablets have been discovered, relating to all sorts of subjects—history, astronomy, religion, grammar, and geography. By means of these potsherds we shall probably be able at no distant time to get as accurate an idea of Assyrian manners and life as we possess of Jewish habits.

But the most astonishing use to which Chaldæans, or Babylonians at least, put their ingenuity as potters lay in the issue of what are supposed to be promises to pay, or, in fact, bank notes of earthenware. Of such extraordinary objects, Mr. Loftus found not less than forty in the ruins of Warka, and they are now in the British Museum. Sir Henry

Rawlinson gives it as his "suspicion," that the "smaller cakes correspond to notes of hand of the present day, the tenor of the legend being apparently an acknowledgment of liability by private parties for certain amounts of gold and silver" received from Government. "The more formal documents, however, seemed to be notes issued by the Government for the convenience of circulation, representing a certain value, which was always expressed in measures of weight, of gold or silver, and redeemable on presentation at the Royal Treasury."* After this example you will readily credit that the Chaldees, Assyrians, and Babylonians were very well acquainted with all possible uses of pottery, and some that might have seemed impossible.

Egyptian Pottery.

Although the Egyptians were quite well acquainted with the art before our earliest records of them reach, they never attained any great success therein, save for the manufacture of that celebrated body which is often called porcelain. The clay of Egypt is eminently fitted for making coarse, porous ware, but it never could compete with the clays of Europe. The industry of the people, however, and their frugality enabled them to set up and keep a very wide commerce in their ungraceful earthenware. They traded in every direction, underselling the productions of more tasteful but less business-like people. We find the coarse Egyptian ware in every country. It seems probable to many that on the banks of the Nile the secret of the potter's wheel was first discovered. Pliny is most certainly mistaken in giving the honour of this discovery to an Athenian. The Egyptians had not only used it, but had painted pictures of the use of it, before the men of Athens had ventured to descend from the rocky protection of their Acropolis. Sir Gardner

* *Athenæum*, March 15, 1851.

Wilkinson, indeed, would have us believe that the Mesopotamian habit of writing upon clay, which we have just been considering, was borrowed from Egypt. The upholders of Asian ingenuity, on the other hand, would assert that even the shapes of Assyrian pottery were original. It is not for us to consider this point. The close resemblance of their ware cannot be denied.

At a very early period glazed tiles were used by the Egyptians. They were only of black and white, and employed as a sort of wainscoting. A chamber in the pyramid of Jakara was thus embellished, whilst alabaster slabs here and there relieved the monotonous effect. They had also learned the art of perfuming their porous ware, and Mr. Marryat tells us that the secret is employed to this day. Such perfumed ware has been several times found in the distant tombs of Etruria, a proof of wide commerce. Here, as elsewhere, we find pottery in intimate relationship with the funereal rites. Besides the common vases, the figures, and the glass vessels, which I shall allude to presently, Sir Gardner Wilkinson found on one occasion a sarcophagus of earthenware. It was "very similar to our tiles, made in two pieces sewn together, small holes having been made in the clay before it was burnt." This vessel represented a human figure, but only the lower half remained. More curious is the so-called porcelain of their own manufacture found in Egyptian tombs. This very elegant substance was really a form of glass, although an authority so distinguished as Mr. Birch does not seem to be fully convinced of the fact. It was made of fine sand, loosely fused, and very thickly coated with silicious glaze. The colour penetrated in some cases almost through the substance. The ground was nearly always blue or green, traversed by figures or lines in white, purple, yellow, or red. Of such material were made all sorts of vessels,

figures, rings and ornaments, which, before the introduction,—before the invention probably,—of true porcelain, commanded a ready sale over all the world. Many of them are ornamented with patterns of considerable taste and intricacy. Hieroglyphic inscriptions, flowers, and the peculiar Egyptian necklace called *usch*, are found not unfrequently. Fish feeding on the young stalks of the lotus is a favourite device. In this, one and the same head is ingeniously fitted to three separate bodies, so as to provide each with a mouth, though one eye does duty for all three. Earthenware also was painted, though not commonly, nor with much skill. Such ornament is seldom more important than the lotus flower, or a few leaves. But Rosellini found a wall-painting at Thebes, in which was depicted a vase adorned with drawings of calves playing in the shade of some bushes. The Egyptians had the art also of coating carvings in cheap stone, with their opaque glass, and thus rendering, at small expense, all the effect of finish which would have been, perhaps, impossible for them to give in the softer substance. Their colours were mineral.

Chinese Porcelain in Egypt.

The objects of real porcelain found in Egyptian graves puzzle all enquirers vastly. That such are met with, and not unfrequently, is quite beyond dispute. It is not one or two, but scores, that have been found. No collection is without them. Can we then believe, as has been suggested, that the poor Arab population which has occupied these tombs as dwellings can have brought them there? Before listening to such a suggestion, it would be necessary to shew that the modern Arabs commonly use such things. This has not been attempted, and scientific explorers who have lighted upon them express conviction that the tombs wherein they were found had not been opened by the Arabs. But, on the other hand, it is the belief of educated Chinese, that porcelain

was discovered by Sin-ping, not earlier than the second century before Christ; and, again, it is alleged by Mr. Medhurst that the form of character in which the motto on these vessels is described, did not come into use in China before the third century of our era; and, indeed, that the poems from which some of the little verses are extracted, were not written before the eighth or eleventh centuries. This is a surprising muddle. We must either believe that the destitute *fellaheen* camping in those tombs have a habit of carrying Chinese scent bottles wherever they go, and of leaving them behind,—which is grotesquely improbable; or we must suppose that the established idea in China as to the time when porcelain was discovered is wholly mistaken; and also, which is much the most likely supposition, that English scholars have not yet so thoroughly mastered a most difficult tongue as to be able to fix the date of its archaic forms.

Before touching upon Etruscan, Greek, and Roman pottery,—schools of manufacture that may be said to have formed our modern English taste in art,—I think it will be thoroughly in the spirit of my design to utter some brief words upon American earthenware. Its importance does not merit great attention, but no survey of the potter's art could be at all complete without allusion to the praiseworthy, if eccentric, efforts of the Western aborigines.

American Pottery.

In trying to solve that much-contested problem as to the comparative civilisation or barbarism of America before the Spaniards' coming, it may be well to remember that the potter's wheel was most certainly unknown to its most enlightened peoples. Some of them, especially the various Aztec colonies and the Peruvians, doubtless manufactured vases and other articles, with a skill surprising under the circumstances. From their graves are obtained such great quantities of excellent ware, that the people in some parts of

Central America wholly depend upon the spade for their supply of pottery. It is to be had of all sizes, of many shapes, and of diverse quality. Mr. Frederick Boyle, in his visit to Nicaragua, saw antique vases in use by the cottagers which would hold twenty to twenty-five gallons. He himself dug out some of the odd funereal urns, shaped something like a shoe, but round-bottomed, which might contain five to ten gallons. These large articles were made of excellent dark clay, unglazed, but painted in black and red. They were about half an inch thick, and perfectly serviceable. The greater part had a raised ornament of two snakes upon the small or "toe" extremity. In this urn were laid the ashes of the dead, with various personal gear, and several pieces of handsomer crockery, bowls and cups and tripod dishes. Of this there are two sorts; one of a fine black clay, singularly light, adorned with rough patterns, scratched with a pin, and always flat bottomed; the other of coarser clay, glazed with a thick cream-coloured material which may be easily chipped off, and decorated with paintings, apparently hieroglyphical, in chocolate and red; both these vases are decidedly handsome; a large bowl of the cream-coloured pattern covered the mouth of the funereal urn.

Many objects of unusual shape were made in earthenware by the Aztec peoples. Figures, both human and animal, are found in great numbers. The finest collection of these works is in the Museum of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. There, amongst very many curious objects, are preserved twenty-eight masks in pottery, varying from about half life-size to gigantic dimensions. These are believed to have been worn upon certain religious commemorations. So the Romans, in their *exsequiæ gentilium*, bore waxen masks of their ancestors, perhaps, as Mr. Marryat seems to think, upon earthenware figures; but this is almost more than doubtful. The *codices*, or picture histories of

Mexico, often represent characters wearing masks. The human statuettes are frequently caricatures. Amongst the unusual shapes for earthenware found in America are flutes and whistles. The latter very common. It is not, of course, surprising that of porcelain there is no trace at all in any part. But I understand M. Brasseur de Bourbourg to enumerate this amongst the Manufactures of the Mayas and the Quichés (*Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique*). That learned writer probably uses the word loosely. You will remember that authors so judicious as Prof. Rawlinson and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, both employ the word for Assyrian and Egyptian ware. Bernal Diaz also speaks of *porcellana* in America; but this term, now exclusively applied to porcelain, seems at that date to have expressed, firstly, a little pig; secondly, a small covered cup of any material; and, thirdly, a cowrie, or other shell, of the like shape. These latter meanings came from the first, by a supposed likeness of the objects to the back of a pig. It may well be that the old Spaniard meant to speak of some ornamental shells. The Peruvian pottery bears a curiously near resemblance to the Aztec. It is perhaps even more eccentric in its irregular pieces, but less brilliantly painted. As I have already said, the potter's wheel was not known to any American race, though their modellers show an astonishing facility and skill in shaping intricate designs. This ignorance of a very simple but most necessary instrument should be borne in mind by those who discuss the point of progress the Americans had reached. It is not yet so very many years since Mr. Robertson alleged, with the full belief of everybody, that the Western Continent had no history at all until the Spaniards' coming—that its peoples were naked savages—and the testimony of Cortes' historians, in so far as it was known, was put down as simple falsehoods. This we now see to have been absurdly erroneous. But there are not

wanting signs that the world may be tempted to the opposite extreme of believing the Aztecs, the Mayas, and the Peruvians to have been vastly more advanced than Europeans at the same period. This, I take it, would be an error even more preposterous than the first.

Etruscan Pottery.

It is not without hesitation that I include these three eminent manufactures, the Etruscan, the Greek, and the Roman, in my short and desultory review. If, on the one hand, it may be truly urged that without allusion to them any account of pottery would be as grotesque as the play of Hamlet with the Prince left out, it must on the other hand be recollected that worthily to treat this subject would need a score of times the space I have allowed me. Not the lowest of the Greek arts could be discussed, as one discusses the highest efforts of earlier nations; and pottery was held in great esteem amongst these people, as shall be shown hereafter; but, whatever the difficulties of the task, I could not speak with propriety of modern art without telling somewhat of the schools which guide our judgment in so many points.

Although I follow common custom in placing the mysterious nation of Etruria as before Greece in the rank of discovery, it is not more certain that such was the true order than that Assyrian art preceded Egyptian — scarcely so much so. The belief of antiquity is plain, that the Greeks instructed the Etruscans. Did we possess those books of Etrurian history which the Emperor Claudius compiled, we should know better how the matter was regarded. But all extant authorities agree. Corobœus, the Athenian, discovered the potter's wheel, and Demaratus, of Corinth, introduced the art of pottery into Etruria. We have already seen that half the Eastern world, at least, forestalled the Athenian's discovery; and it may very likely be that Demaratus did to his Italian hosts only that act of kindness which schoolboys call

"teaching my grandmother." But the historical existence of this Corinthian noble, his exile from Greece, the wealth and numerous suite he brought to Tuscany, are amongst the best attested facts of early Roman history; the main tale, I believe, is not generally doubted. But the adventures of Demaratus himself are no better warranted than the existence of his followers, Eucheir and Eugrammas, who, as we are again and again assured, taught the art of pottery to the Etruscans. The names of these two persons are doubtless untrue, but their meaning, "Clever-handed," and "Clever-draughtsman," rather goes to confirm tradition than to weaken it. Strabo says that even the Etruscan alphabet was brought over by these Greek exiles. The Latins would have it that, only one hundred years before the foundation of Rome, the Etrurians were a people ignorant of the elements of civilisation. This view is, of course, quite absurd, and yet I have little doubt that Demaratus did introduce that more elegant, though still rugged art, which formed the second period in Etruria.

The third period, when the great painted vases were produced, which we now regard with as much astonishment as delight, was distinctly Greek. Though, perhaps, none exactly resembling these are found in Greece itself, the origin or model of them all has been discovered in several places there. In the Dodwell Museum at Rome is a small broken vase, disinterred at Corinth, the city of Demaratus. It is of pale clay, the bowl painted in three or four colours, with chimæras, sphynxes, and griffins, after the Egyptian manner; and the neck bears a number of fighting figures in black. Each warrior has his name above him in Greek characters. Few persons, after looking at that fragment, have any longer doubted whence the pseudo-Etruscan art arose. I am not aware that any persons longer uphold the originality of these great works.

There is, however, a pottery earlier than the Greek intermixture, not at all unworthy of respect. This indeed was not original, but modelled after the Egyptian, with chimæras, sphynxes, and griffins, such as prevailed in Archaic Greek ware. It was either painted in black and red, on a yellow ground, or black, not painted, but of black clay, with animals and arabesques in basso-relievo. These vases are so unquestionably Egyptian in model, that eminent antiquarians have contended they were imported from the Nile. After these specimens of the native art, we come, as I think, directly to the influence of the Greek exiles. This is shown in the sudden appearance of a red or yellow ware, with stiff Egyptianesque figures in black. There is little of the ease and grace which we are accustomed to call Greek amongst them, but neither was there in the parent art at that time. Eucheir, and Diopus, and Eugrammus did not change the fashions of the ware in a day; nor, probably, did they themselves know much better, seeing that the Corinthian model is far from graceful. But the colonies of Greece in Italy spread fast, and a constant intercourse was kept up across the Adriatic. Taste in the mother country marched with wondrous strides, the colonies advanced almost as fast; and to Greek influence, though not, it may possibly be, to Greek hands, we owe those magnificent creations which have been a marvel and an envy to all later potters. The Greek city of Nola was the seat of the manufacture, and nowhere but in Greco-Etruscan settlements is it found in full perfection, save in the rarest instances.

But, as I thoroughly admit a native though not original art of no mean character, so I believe that the Etruscans employed their acquired skill to purposes seldom sought after by their masters. Clay was extensively used by them for statues and portraits, vastly more commonly than by the Greeks. Besides those large figures of the dead, which are

found in Etruscan tombs, they made statues of gods and men of terra-cotta, as well as of marble and bronze. How admirably clever were the Etruscan sculptors in bronze, we can ourselves observe, in admiring the she-wolf of the Capitol, or the boy playing with a goose at Dresden. Veii, before its destruction by Camillus, had four thousand public statues, of which a great part were fictile. The city was famed for its modellers, one of whom, Volcanius, was summoned to Rome, by Tarquin the Elder, to construct the figure of Jupiter for the Capitol. This statue, we are told, was painted over with *minium*, a red mineral colour. The far-famed *quadriga*, or four-horsed chariot, which stood on the pediment of the Capitol, was of the same manufacture. The *Hercules fictilis* also was wrought by an artist of Veii, Volcanius, as Pliny says. Up to the latest times the *dii fictiles*, probably of Etruscan origin, held a place of great respect. The temple of Veientian Juno, on the Aventine, was amongst the wealthiest in Rome; and this statue also was of clay. But at a later date, as I shall show, the custom of modelling statues in terra cotta was known to, and much practised by, the Greeks.

A more curious proof of the general use made by this people of earthenware, is seen in their coinage of clay, if, indeed, we are not mistaken in so recognising the singular objects discovered at Todi and elsewhere. There is no information at all procurable as to the employment of these things. Schoolmasters, perhaps, made use of the same material, as a sort of substitute for our copy or account-book. The most useful, though not the most elegant object yet found in the tombs, has been described as an inkstand. However this be, the vessel bears on it the Etruscan alphabet, both in characters, and expressed in syllables. Upon very many vases, mural paintings, arms, and other objects, are found writings in the ancient tongue of the country, some-

times upon the vases which are now generally admitted to be manufactures of the Greek colonists. Before the discovery of this remarkable object, some thirty-five years ago, the learned were wholly in the dark as to the value of these letters. By its aid they have generally satisfied themselves, I believe, that the characters are of the same root as the Greek, though older than any extant in that tongue. I would be understood to speak with great diffidence on this point; but Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that the Etruscans resembled no other people either in language or manners; and his authority is of peculiar value, seeing he wrote a lengthy work upon their history, now lost. Strabo, on the other hand, says that Demaratus brought over the alphabet with his suite of potters. The subject is very difficult, and does not fortunately come within the limit of this paper. But we are told that the Greek alphabet for the most part came from Egypt with Cadmus, and the Etruscan arts may yet prove to be, as Strabo gives it in his opinion, all Egyptian, or Archaic Greek.

Greek Potters.

I come now to that people to whom we owe, if not the very beginning or initiation of art, certainly its highest development. Amongst the numberless excellencies of this most favoured race, their taste and skill in the potter's craft stands in the first rank. Here, as in other arts, we may envy and imitate, but cannot rival. But it must be noted that the Greeks took every means to encourage excellent workmen. Flaxman was accused of degrading his noble profession when he undertook to model for the potter Wedgwood. There have been many critics found to deny the drawings attributed to Raffaelle, which lie in the Santa Casa at Loretto, solely on the ground that so great a painter *could* not have designed the ornaments for pots and pans. But Xeuxis, who was probably a greater man than he, did not

disdain to paint vases,—as some read it, to "throw" them with his own hands. Specimens of his work, we are told, existed at the city of Ambracia, in Philip's time. But it should be added, on the other hand, that the Greeks were in the habit of raising statues to their great potters, and striking medals in their honour. We may, perhaps, even understand that the most famous works of every year were publicly exhibited at the great festivals. There is nothing improbable in such a custom. Pictures were shown there, poems recited, plays acted. Herodotus even, as you know, read his history, or, perhaps, a part of it, to the people assembled for the Olympic games. But some little uncertainty is thrown upon the display of fictile works by the fact that the prize in athletic contests was a vase, and the strong probability that such prizes would be set out for public admiration beforehand, as is our custom at this day. However it be, the Greeks looked upon the potter's craft, in its artistic forms, with great respect. Homer alludes to it several times in the *Iliad*, and even addressed a poem to the Samian potters. If we believe the story as told in the great poet's life, ascribed to Herodotus, he composed this lyric in gratitude for the shelter afforded him by the warm kilns of these primitive artificers one cold, wet night. Kilns capable of sheltering a man testify to no mean business. But we must not place too much reliance on a mere story like this. The poem is an extravagant address to Athené for protection of the Samian potters.

I have already mentioned their claim to the discovery of the wheel, which was advanced by several cities, most especially by Athens and Corinth. In these two spots arose the more important of the home schools of pottery; for it is to be remarked that the native Greeks never, so far as we know, acquired such wondrous skill as did several of their colonies, who engrafted the taste of their fatherland upon the

style of the people they settled with. Mr. Birch opines that in Asia Minor high art in pottery first arose, amongst the Greek colonies of Corun. Neither Athens nor Corinth struck out, at first, an original style of art, any more than Etruria. Egyptian influence was paramount for a length of time. The earliest unpainted vessels are not to be distinguished from those of Egypt, and the first fictile vases we discover have been energetically claimed as real products of the Nile dwellers; but the chain of progress is not anywhere broken. From the pale red body, adorned with grotesque animals and disproportionate arabesques in brown, to the glossy background of Xeuxis' time, bearing exquisite human figures of several tints, we may watch the gradual advance. The first style, perhaps, was the Athenian, in which the ground was yellow, or pale red, decorated with designs in brown outline, too large generally for the piece. The Corinthians, as might be expected from their position, were even more Egyptianesque than the men of Athens. They used the chimæra and other ornaments of the like source, such as the lotus flower, the sphynx, and arbitrary patterns. One notable distinction of the Corinthian school was the introduction of flowers on a yellow ground.

After the few remaining specimens of this class, we find a series in which men began to appear, side by side with the earlier decoration. They are extremely rude and stiff, archaic in design, as it is usual to describe them. Of this class is the famous vase of the Dodwell Museum, which has been already spoken of as the prototype of Etruscan pottery. By this time, which is probably five to six hundred years B.C., the pale ground of earlier days has changed to a bright red, and the figures and ornaments to black. Then came the fashion of leaving white the faces, and parts of the dress in some figures. And so the art marched on, always growing more beautiful and perfect, until several tints—crimson, blue,

vermilion, and purple, were worked in. The colour of the ground was revolutionised once more, for it became black, and the figures changed to red. This was in the days of Grecian glory, when the grandest sculptors and painters handled the potter's tools. With the glory of Greece the art kept pace, and did not survive its decline. The treasures of Asia, poured into Hellas, ruined the simply beautiful manufacture of earthenware. With the loss of freedom came, all at once, the ostentatious luxury of a military *noblesse*. The potters made one effort to hold their ground against a flood of gold. They brought out a new ware, still black in body, but with figures in white, and glazed. It was of no use. The grand pottery of Greece died about 250 B.C., killed by the spoils of Persia.

But I must add that, in regard to these painted vases, there has been no light question amongst scholars as to the use or purpose of them, at the best. They are rarely or never found to bear traces of usage. I notice that M. Millin, in his *Dictionary of Art*, asserts that the Etruscan specimens have at no time served for use, so far as can be judged. We moderns obtain large vases from China and elsewhere, and employ them merely as furniture; but the Greek houses were not fitted to receive anything of the sort, nor to show it off if received. Winckelmann, however, an authority beyond doubt, alleges that many vases he had seen have proved to be one-sided, the painting on one face being very imperfect by comparison. This same inequality is even found to occur in some of the *œnochoœ*, or wine cups. This would seem to be almost conclusive testimony to the ornamental use of them in some shape; and indeed we know, by the mural paintings uncovered at several spots, that the exterior of houses, both Greek and Roman, was adorned with vases, as are Italian villas to this day. The objection to this idea is that the painting is nearly in all cases so

minute it could produce no effect at all from the ground. Nevertheless, as a question of fact, I would point out that the Temple of Castor and Pollux at Athens was certainly surmounted by fictile urns, on which were represented the various athletic struggles that were practised at the games of which they were patrons. I have already said that a painted vase was the prize in such contests, filled with oil from the olive trees in the grove sacred to Athene, or of the Fates. Of such vases we have been so happy as to find one still existing, which is thus described by Mr. Birch :—"It is of pale, salmon-coloured clay, on which the figures are painted in a blackish brown colour, while the parts not painted are of a pale black leaden glaze. The subject represents, on one side, Pallas Athene standing between two columns of the Palœstra, surmounted by cocks, the birds sacred to Hermes and the Games. She is dressed in a talaric tunic, and armed with her ægis and shield, the device, or *episemon*, on which is a dolphin; in her other hand she holds her lance. Inscribed on the vase is a perpendicular line of Greek, reading from right to left:—TON: AΘENEΘEN: AΘΛON: EMI: "I am the prize from Athens." On the other side is a man driving a *biga*, or *synoris*, and urging the horses with a goad, whilst jingling bells are attached to their necks. There can be no doubt but that this is one of the very *amphoræ* described by Pindar, when he sings of the Theiœus, son of Ulias of Argos. As a prelude to future victories, "sacred songs twice proclaimed him victor in the sacred festivals of the Athenians, and the fruit of the olive tree came over in the splendid vessels of earth burnt in fire for the manly people of Juno." It held the holy oil from the olive grove of the Moirœ, or Fates. When discovered, it was filled with the burnt ashes of its former owner, and also with several small vases, which probably held the oil, milk, and other substances found upon the pyre. Its age is at least as early as the sixth century B.C.

To return to the use of vases, it seems most probable, since these objects were certainly not made for use, that they were set up on high, at a reasonable elevation, in the grounds and on the roofs of the houses of wealthy men, waiting their death. In regard to the numbers of earthen vessels found in Greek and Etruscan tombs, I must not omit a curious remark of Winckelmann, viz., "that no author anywhere alludes to the habit of placing vessels in the grave, other than the urn containing the ashes of the dead, although a painted vase by Xeuxis and other great artists must have had fabulous value." This singular observation, together with the inviolable sanctity of the mountainous Etruscan graves throughout Roman times, and the inexplicable scenes depicted on many vases, have led some to think that these beautiful works were connected with the initiation to religious mysteries, were presented to the neophyte on such occasions, and were buried with him. It is to be observed, in connection with this, that the Etruscans did not need a cinerary urn, seeing they buried their dead in place of burning them. The rifling of the graves of Greece and Italy is due to the greed and fanaticism of Christians and Barbarians. Whilst the hollow earth around was full of earthen treasures, ancient vases fetched such a price in Rome that a dish of gold was cheaper. It was, I think, Julius Cæsar who paid six silver talents for a specimen. We have other evidence besides of the value set upon these things, even at the time of their manufacture. Many of the finest works discovered are found to have been broken and most carefully mended by the owners at some time, before they were committed to the earth.

The Greeks did not employ terra-cotta to such an extent as did the Etruscans. The *dii fictiles* of Italy were not used by them. But of figures on the façades of temples, made in this material, we have many instances. The temple of Zeus, at Elis, was adorned with a representation of the race

between the horses of Pelops and Ænomaus. That of Pallas, at Athens, had the birth of that goddess modelled upon the front façade, and the contest between herself and Poseidon upon the back. In pottery adapted for the common use of life, Greece did a large trade. Some of the amphoræ exported to Thrace and the islands were of enormous size. The celebrated *bas-relief* of the Villa Albani, figured by Winckelmann in his History of Art, represents Diogenes seated in the mouth of a *pithos*, or tub, the material of which is evidently earthenware. Alexander stands in front of him, and a little dog vehemently barks at the world's conqueror from the top. The *pithos* has been broken, and is held together by clamps. If we are to suppose this illustration as at all true to fact, the Greeks must have manufactured giant works indeed. Diogenes could stand upright in the mouth of his tub. I have read somewhere, but the passage has slipped my memory, that such vast objects were moulded upon wood. Tiles were amongst the earliest objects of earthenware manufactured by the Greeks, and their excellence in this branch of art has never been surpassed. Enamelling was not then known; but the exceeding beauty of their moulded tiles and cornices excites our admiration to this day. Vitruvius lays it down that the spout for carrying off rain water should be modelled in the shape of a lion's head; and of such gurgoils several specimens have come down to us. Cornices, adorned with the *helix*, or honeysuckle ornament, the lotus flower, and mingled lines of red, blue, brown, and yellow, seem to have been common at the earliest period. During the time when burial prevailed in Greece, the grave was paved with flat tiles, and arched over with tiles adapted for the purpose.

Flower-pots.

Another use of earthenware was for the manufacture of flower-pots. Theophrastus, I quote from Mr. Birch, observes,

incidentally, that 'southern wood' is a plant difficult to raise, and commonly propagated from slips in pots. Our custom of growing flowers at the window is as old as the oldest historical times. It has been suggested, with great plausibility, that many of those utensils commonly classed as lamps, which bear as many as twelve or twenty branches, were really used for growing some sort of plants, as we grow hyacinths.

And although terra-cotta was not held in such esteem for statuary by the Greeks as by the Etruscans, their sculptors, from Xeuxis' time, were in the habit of modelling their ideas in clay. And, after the invention of casting statues in terra-cotta, by Lysistratus, copies of a master-piece in sculpture were commonly reproduced, as by the workers in plaster of the present day. Some few statues of the same material are known to have existed, as in the shrine of Ceres and Proserpine at Tritœa, and in the temple of Bacchus at Athens. But original or finished work of the sort was probably rare; nor have any specimens of the period come down to us, so far as I have been able to learn.

Roman Potters.

The pottery of Rome need not detain us long. Like all other arts of that military people, it was borrowed. They had no style, although there is a very marked manner about the productions made under their dominion, which pass by the Roman name. It is creditable, however, to the taste of the world's conquerors that they were not beguiled from the admiration of finely painted earthenware by the mere glitter of gold. When Mummius brought home the finest Corinthian vases, he established a taste which never was lost. It is true that the production of such things had then almost ceased. I have already commented on the fact that whilst millions of tombs abounding in fine vases were all about them, the Romans never seem to have desecrated the ancient graves.

Up to the latest times of Paganism the manufacture of painted urns was carried on in Italy. These were manufactured, like other articles of trade, without regard to the private circumstances of the purchaser. They held the ashes of the dead, and were scarcely of a higher class of art than the ornamental works of our undertakers, though necessarily more elegant. Of the Roman use of earthenware for portraits, statues, and small figures of various sorts, I have spoken under the head of Etruria, whence such things mostly came. But after the decay of that school of art, Greek sculptors adapted themselves to the Roman taste. Gorgasus and Demophilus, indeed, in B.C. 491, adorned the temple of Ceres at Rome with their talent. During the reign of Augustus this building was burnt, but the terra cotta figures escaped, and we are told that they were reset in the wall with great reverence. Numa, who held the potter's craft in such respect as to include it amongst the *Collegia* of Rome, had passed a curious law forbidding the size of earthen figures to exceed three feet, but it soon grew obsolete apparently. Up to the very end of the Republic, terra cotta statues were much regarded. Possis, a Greek sculptor, made a figure of Venus for Julius Cæsar, which attracted general admiration. Of these works comparatively few remain. Two fragments of very large size have been discovered at Pompeii, but a substance so fragile could not hope to escape destruction, except under such circumstances as have preserved for us so many funereal vases and ornaments.

Samian Ware.

Pliny tells us the names of those places most famous for their pottery in his time. The wares are Samian and Arretian for "the service of the table," and Surrentum, Asta, Pollentia, Saguntum in Spain, and Pergamus in Asia Minor for cups, but for cups only. He mentions also that a wide commerce was established by these places. "Their

productions had become known to all countries, and were conveyed to every quarter of the earth." That this was not idle talk, we see by the enormous quantity of imported ware that turns up in every land where the Romans had rule. The commonest manufacture we thus find has been universally identified as the Samian, of which Pliny speaks, of red material, highly glazed, and covered with raised ornaments. The only points, however, which justify us in calling it Samian are its colour, and the frequency of its appearance. No Museum is without specimens, for over all Europe vessels of this sort are constantly turning up. They were originally made in the Island of Samos, as the name indicates, and were Greek, though not of the great times of Greece. But the secret of colouring pale clay with red ochre was not one difficult to divine, and the manufacture of Samian ware was probably carried on in every province of the Empire. We have not hitherto discovered in England any furnaces or other needful appliances for its making, but in France, Germany, and Italy such remains are not uncommon. Their productions were bowls, or *pateræ*, suitable for dining purposes. They were made in moulds of baked clay, and the interior was smoothed and rounded on the lathe. The extreme beauty of this ware, both in shape and decoration, is a proof what good taste prevailed in all quarters of the ancient world, even in the decadence.

Aretine Ware.

The manufacture of Aretium, in Etruria, which is also mentioned by Pliny, we find in other countries, but much less frequently. It is a higher class of ware than the Samian, darker in tone, with ornaments better moulded, and more carefully finished, but very similar to it at a casual glance.

Other Romano-British Ware.

Were I to enumerate, even thus briefly, all the manufactures of pottery which are classed as Roman, I should occupy

a long time, and perhaps to very little purpose. Our own best established seats of manufacture at this early time were at Upchurch, on the Medway, where a deep black ware was made, the colour being due to the smoke of green wood, thrown upon the furnace, and at Caistor, in Northamptonshire, whence we obtain a brown glazed ware, adorned with hunting subjects, figures, and arabesque patterns, in white glaze.

With the decline and fall of Rome, all art and science vanished. He who looked upon the world at that time might have thought that those great spirits who had led on mankind to the knowledge of the beautiful, the useful, and the true, had utterly lived in vain. No trace of Homer's influence remained. The great discoveries by which Archimedes blessed the universe were all forgotten. From the immortal trophies of Praxiteles men drew no more benefit than from Cæsar's warlike genius. Chaos came again. Knowledge of all useful and lovely things was as though it had never been. It came to pass that men stared in superstitious terror at the works their own forefathers had created. The painted vases of Etruria were vessels sacred to the fiend. The Samian potsherd was a medicine cup, of wondrous power; and whatever human industry, and taste, and skill had at any time invented, to improve the savage rudeness of primeval art, all passed away and was forgotten.

Mediæval Pottery.

It would be a long, a wearisome, and a wholly useless task to discuss the supposed differences between one barbarous school of these "dark ages" and another. Such questions have an interest, like any other difficult problem. But for our purpose it is sufficient to remark that a sort of graceless and tasteless pottery continued to be made in Europe all through mediæval times. The specimens are

rare, and consist only of jugs, rude tankards, and "pilgrim-bottles" for slinging on the hip.

Our own forefathers of this time cannot claim any credit at all for advancing that art which is now almost concentrated in our hands. They gave themselves up, as we learn from many sources, to the carving of wooden vessels and the chasing of silver. Although there are extant many specimens of an earlier date, it cannot be said that pottery, as an art, was attempted in England before a late period of Queen Elizabeth. (See Marryat, page 55.)

Italian Ware.

But in the meantime other nations had been earnestly trying to recover somewhat of the old excellence. Under the blighting influence of nobles and priests Europe had not, perhaps, the strength to make great efforts in any line; but, fortunately for us, that Moorish race to which we owe so much, held a firm footing in the Mediterranean. At a happy moment,—if I may so speak, in the interest of civilisation,—the attention of the Pisans was attracted to the doings of a Moorish Emir, named Nazaredeck, who kept thousands of Christian captives in his rocky fortress of Majorca. The men of Pisa fitted out an expedition A.D. 1113, and, amongst other exploits, triumphantly sacked the Emir's palace. From thence they brought a number of enamelled tiles, well known to us under the name of Azulejos, such as are still the admiration of visitors to the Alhambra. These trophies were put up in many public places, such as church walls and the façades of public buildings. Probably with them were taken, and conveyed to Italy, not a few of the beautiful Moorish plates and vases.

The rude potters of Pisa looked at them in amaze, and generations passed before a serious imitation was attempted. The earliest allusion to enamelled earthenware is almost as

late as the fifteenth century. Luca della Robbia, one of the greatest, was also the earliest potter whose name has been thought worthy of preservation. He is claimed by many Italians as the founder of the Majolica School of Pottery, with which the conquest of Majorca is pronounced to have been quite unconnected. But Luca della Robbia was, after all, a sculptor. His admirable works are statues of terra-cotta, thickly coated with various enamels. He may possibly have worked at Pesaro, though I am not aware that any record of the fact exists; but it can scarcely be upheld at this day that he materially forwarded the manufacture going on there. But, to avoid entering on such details as this, what I wish you to remember is, that we owe our revival of pottery, as of most other arts, to the Saracens first, and then to Italy.

German Pottery.

The Germans, however, were but a short way behind them. The secret of glazing earthenware was discovered by a potter of Alsace in 1278, A.D., and the art flourished at one time on either side of the Alps. Nuremburg rivalled Pesaro in the beauty of its plates and vases, whilst surpassing its enamelled tiles.

French Pottery.

The first efforts of France were distinctly due to the Italian importations, both of ideas and of workmen. But at the moment when the great mother seats of manufacture were falling to degeneracy, arose in France a man whose romantic story, indomitable persistence, and tragic fate, have earned him wider fame than even his most admirable work—Bernard Palissy. To him we owe, perhaps, looking back with the impartial eye of criticism, no great discoveries in chemistry, nor rules of art, but we owe something almost greater, the recognition of nature's simple beauty. The neo-classic fancy of his day exacted from the tradesman certain forms and ornaments; but the graceful taste of the artist

found, in the common life of ponds and meadows, a suggestion better worthy his regard. Palissy had not the skill nor knowledge which long experience had brought to other schools. He could not rival Pesaro in colour, nor Delft in glaze. But he did a noble work, for all the grotesqueness of his newts and snail-shells. In the long period of his adversity, in the brief passage-time of his success, and in the weary blank of that captivity in which he died, Palissy held out to future craftsmen one unvarying pattern of noble life.

Henri II. Ware.

I must also say one word of Henri II. ware, that sumptuous production of a period and manufacture long unknown. I think there can be no doubt at all that this singular earthenware was made at a time contemporary with that just spoken of. Neither before nor since has anything like it been produced. The material differs from the Majolica; there are but a few specimens known to exist, and they are only in the cabinets of the wealthy; the prices paid for them by the few who possess them is almost fabulous. I copy here the following brief notice of this ware, and its prices, from the *Art Journal,* 1865.

"Ceramic Art has no more curious history than that connected with the ware distinguished by the name of Henry II. of France. It is at once most artistic and varied in design, fine in fabric and unique in manipulation. Its variety is excessive, proving that it must always have been *poterie de luxe;* the arms, or monograms upon it, are of royal or noble houses; while, as no two pieces are alike, and all of elaborate design, it is self-evident that the highest ability was brought to bear upon them. The utmost research has only succeeded in proving the existence of fifty-two pieces; of these, twenty-five are in France, twenty-six in England, and one in Russia.

The mystery that enveloped the history of this manufacture seemed, till lately, impenetrable; nothing was known of the place, or the persons by whom, it was constructed.

M. André Potier, of Rouen, in 1839, was the first to call it Henry

II. ware, from the emblems found upon it, but he considered it to be the work of Florentine artists.

MM. Thoré and Fainturier attributed it to Ascanio, a pupil of Benvenuto Cellini; another, because a G was found repeated on the ewer belonging to Mr. Magniac, assigned to it a still more remote period—namely, Girolamo Della Robbia. After many years of research, French writers on Ceramic Art came to the conclusion that it was made in the neighbourhood of Tours, as the larger number of pieces came directly from this town. It was also conjectured that the pottery must have originated with some artist unconnected with the ordinary trade, some one probably who had worked in metal, for its mode of ornamentation resembled the inlaying of goldsmith's work. As the badges and monograms of Francis I. and Henry II. most frequently appeared upon it, it was thought to have been fine Sévres, constructed for royal use, a luxurious experiment in fictile art.

Suddenly and unexpectedly, the clouds which hid this chapter of history from our view were cleared by a provincial antiquary, M. Benjamin Fillon, of Poictiers, who, while prosecuting his researches among ancient family documents, was enabled to prove from among them the facts so long desired.

This pottery was manufactured at Oiron, near Thouars (Deux Sévres), the district already presumed from other causes; and it was made to please a wealthy lady, Hélène de Hangest-Genlis (who died 1537), widow of Artus Gouffier, and mother of Claude Gouffier, Grand Ecuyer de France, a man celebrated for his tastes in Art. Their secretary and librarian was Jean Bernard, who furnished designs for ornamental bindings; and it is not a little curious that, long before this was known, it was stated that metal stamps similar to those used by bookbinders must have been employed in decorating these works, for the great peculiarity of the coloured ornamentation consists in its not having been painted, but inlaid with coloured clays, cut to fit stamped spaces made in the surface for their reception.

A potter named Francois Charpentier, assisted in the work. Many of the ciphers, therefore, must now connect themselves with the family of Gouffier, the arms of William Gouffier being the central ornament of a salver in the South Kensington Museum; and his initials being placed round the ewer in the possession of H. Magniac, Esq., the finest and most important work in existence of this manufacture.

It will be at once felt that this curious discovery completely accounts for all the peculiarities of this unique ware, and singularly

corroborates the shrewd conjectures of the students in ceramic history.

It may be interesting to some of our readers to know the history of the twenty-six pieces of this ware now in England; what they have cost at the various sales, showing the increased prices they have attained, from whence obtained, and to whom they belong. With the exception of the candlestick recently purchased for the South Kensington Museum, and Mr. Malcolm's exquisite biberon, all the following pieces were exhibited at the Loan Exhibition in 1862.

OWNER.	OBJECT.	WHENCE OBTAINED.
H. Magniac, Esq. ...	...Ewer	...Odiot Col., 1842, £96.
Sir A. Rothschild ...	...Ewer	Strawberry Hill, 1842, £20.
Do. ...	...Ewer	...De Monville sale, £140.
Do. ...	...Candlestick ...	...Préaux Col., 1850, £208.
Do. ...	...Hanap	De Bruge Col., 1849, £20.
Do. ...	...Tazza	...Préaux Col., 1849, £44.
Do. ...	...Bouquetière ...	Bought at Tours, for £48, about 20 years since.
Do. ...	...Cup Cover ...	...Unknown.
A. Fountaine, Esq. ...	...Candlestick ...	These three pieces were bought in France by Sir A. Fountaine, about 120 years since.
Do. ...	...Biberon	
Do. ...	...Salt-cellar ...	
Baron L. de Rothschild...	Biberon	Bought of Madame Delaunay, price unknown.
Do.	...Salt-cellar ...	Strawberry Hill, 1842, £21.
Duke of Hamilton ...	...Tazza	Préaux Col., 1850, £20; Rattier Col., 1859, £280.
Do. ...	..Salt-cellar ...	...Rattier's sale, 1859, £80.
H. T. Hope, Esq. ...	...Ewer (no foot)	De Bruge Col., 1849, £16.
Do. ...	...Ewer	... Do. 1849, £20.
M. T. Smith, Esq. ...	...Ewer	Bought as Palissy, in 1850, £10.

OWNER.	OBJECT.	WHENCE OBTAINED.
South Kensington Museum	Dish	Espoulart sale, 1857, £140.
Do.	...Tazza	Bought at Poictiers for 50s.; cost Museum £180.
Do.	...Candlestick ...	...Purchased in 1864, £750.
Do.	...Tazza and Cover	Préaux sale, 1850, £60 Soltikoff sale, 1861, £450.
Do.	...Salt-cellar ...	Soltikoff sale, 1861, £268.
S. Addington, Esq. ...	...Salt-cellar ...	...Rattier's sale, 1859.
G. Field, Esq.	...Salt-cellar ...	...Unknown.
J. Malcolm, Esq. ...	...Biberon	Pourtales sale, Paris, £1,100."

Flemish Pottery.

But in England, at this time, we were dependent upon Flanders and Holland for all such pottery as lay beyond the rudest forms of manufacture. The unrivalled excellence of Delft, in all those shapes which should be called useful, as opposed to the ornamental merely, long commanded the English market. But the wide manufacture of stone ware in Flanders and Germany displaced the less durable ware of Holland about the middle of the sixteenth century. If I be right in counting the "long beard," or Bellarmine, as a product of Flanders, there can be no doubt at all that England very largely imported from the low countries. Mr. Chaffers, in his history of pottery and porcelain, has gathered together a surprising number of allusions to this vessel from old authors. It was turned out of different sizes, from the great gallon tankard to the six-inch pint pot. But in all cases, a grotesque head, with furious eyes, open mouth, and long beard, adorned the neck. This was popularly believed amongst our forefathers to be a representation of Cardinal Bellarmine, the injudicious minister of King Philip II., who

attempted to convert the Dutch by forcible means to the Roman Catholic faith. We have no distinct record, that I am aware of, whence these articles were exported to England; but there can be no doubt that they came from Flanders, where this grotesque head was an ornament almost universal on the ware, whether of high or low class. Mr. Chaffers quotes from the Lansdowne MSS, a petition of William Simpson, merchant, begging her Majesty Queen Elizabeth to grant him the monopoly of importing "drinking stone-pots," which trade was wholly in foreign hands. He promises, should the request be granted, to set up a manufacture of such articles "in some decayed towne of this realm, whereby manie a hundred poore men may be sett to worke." Whether this petition was granted we have no means of knowing.

English Pottery.

But others besides Mr. Simpson had noticed what a great field for profit lay unexplored in England. Saving the doubtful Elizabethan ware I have spoken of, our native potters had not yet attempted anything more elaborate than the well-known "butter pots," and the three handled "tigs" of Staffordshire. The impetus towards more elaborate manufactures was given by a certain Dwight, probably of Dutch origin, though this is not at all established. He commenced his work at Fulham, and certainly achieved considerable success. There are pieces of his manufacture still extant, as old as the year 1640. But Mr. Dwight seems to have lost temper and courage in the effort to make porcelain, and gave up his more ambitious efforts. At the end of this century, Staffordshire began actively to improve its wares. The brothers Ellers, from Nuremberg, discovered such qualities in the Burslem clay beds as induced them to set up a manufactory on the spot. They do not appear to have been so successful in gaining popularity as in working clay; and when a shrewd rival named Astbury had discovered their secrets,

they left the rude Burslem potters in disgust, and set up in the more refined neighbourhood of Chelsea. Astbury carried on his work with great success. He discovered the use of Devonshire clay, which had hitherto been employed solely for making pipes. By this means he vastly improved upon old models, and prepared the way for Josiah Wedgwood.

Josiah Wedgwood.

In this hasty and imperfect review of the potter's art, it would be foolish to attempt any critical survey of Wedgwood's achievements. My friend, Miss Meteyard, has lately told the story of his life and works in two exhaustive volumes. It was said of Augustus that he found Rome a city of brick, and left it a city of marble; so might it justly be told of Wedgwood, that he found pottery a handicraft in England, and he left it a fine art. All that lay in mortal power he achieved, to outdo the grand productions of ancient times; and if the effort failed, it was not the fault of Wedgwood, but the misfortune of our times, which give us potters superior to those of old, but not the artists to assist them. I cannot refrain from quoting, at this point, an excellent passage from a work too little remembered at this time, Lord Lytton's thoughtful and suggestive survey of *England and the English*, published nearly forty years ago. He says: "There have, for some time past, been various complaints of a deficiency of artists, capable of designing for our manufactures of porcelain, silk, and other articles of luxury in general use; we are told that public schools are required to supply the want. It may be so, yet Wedgwood, Rundel, and Hellicot the watchmaker found no such difficulty, and now that a Royal Academy has existed for sixty-five years, the complaint has become universal. One would imagine that the main capacity of such institutions was to create that decent and general mediocrity of talent which

appeals to trade and fashion for encouragement. In truth, the complaint is not just. How did Wedgwood manage without a public school for designers? In 1760, our porcelain wares could not stand competition with those of France. Necessity prompts, or, what is quite as good, allows, the exertions of genius. Wedgwood applied chemistry to the improvement of the material of his pottery, sought the most beautiful and convenient specimens of antiquity, and caused them to be imitated with scrupulous nicety; he *then*" (the Italics are the author's) "*had recourse to the greatest genius of the day for designs and advice.* But now the manufacturers of a far more costly material, without availing themselves of the example of Wedgwood, complain of want of talent in those whom they never sought, and whom they might as easily command, if they were as willing to reward." These remarks are at least as sound at this moment as when freshly written.

Liverpool Potteries.

I have detained you longer than I had intended, but, standing here in Liverpool, it would not seem fitting to let fall this subject of pottery without an allusion to the efforts of our townsmen in the art. Liverpool did not enjoy the services of an Astbury, nor profit by the genius of a Wedgwood; but it is a fair boast of our old town, that she was amongst the earliest to attempt the improvement of the rude English style. At a time when the catalogue of the Museum of Practical Geology, published under orders of Government, confessed utter ignorance of the Liverpool earthenware, I had in my possession specimens which proved the excellence of that ware, before the German Ellers had regenerated our Staffordshire potteries. Those specimens are now in our Museum. The Liverpool ware was generally coloured in blue and white, but leaves in flower pieces were painted green or yellow. The export trade to the Colonies was considerable,

as we learn from the *Daily Pocket Journal* of 1754. The principal pot-works lay towards the lower end of Dale Street, formerly called the Town's-end. Here Alderman Shaw carried on his extensive factory, which lay at the corner of Fontenoy Street, and extended to Chorley Court. Shaw made, upon occasion, large pieces of considerable merit; but his usual manufacture was of the common delft style for domestic use.

There was, however, another pottery in Liverpool, situate in Harrington Street, at the back of Lord Street, where Mr. John Sadler, the son of a printer, discovered the art of printing upon earthenware. His attention seems to have first been drawn to this idea about 1750, and in 1756 he fully succeeded in carrying it out. In my library are the affidavits which Mr. Sadler had drawn up with the view of patenting his invention, which came to my hands from his only surviving daughter many years ago. I was the more glad to receive these documents, since it had been usual to attribute this most valuable discovery to Dr. Wall, the accomplished gentleman who established the China Works at Worcester. In Liverpool was printed the far-famed Queen's ware, which Wedgwood used to send from Staffordshire by waggon in the plain body, for Mr. Sadler's manipulation.

There were several other pot-works in Liverpool at this time, but I shall here allude only to that of Mr. Chaffers, which stood on Shaw's Brow, at the bottom of Dale Street. This enterprising man, after adventures almost romantic, discovered an unworked seam of soapstone in Cornwall, and immediately commenced the manufacture of china about 1760. Such success did he attain that Josiah Wedgwood confessed himself outdone by this Liverpool rival. He died, however, in the midst of his prosperity, and the works fell into decay.

But the fame of our ware did not suffer in the hands of Seth Pennington, who also had a manufactory on Shaw's Brow. His productions are so excellent that they have been often sold for Oriental china, of which they are a close and admirable imitation. Mr. Pennington had secrets of great value. A Staffordshire house offered him a thousand guineas for the recipe of a certain blue colour, and was refused. Nearly on the spot we are standing was the "Bank," or manufactory of Pennington, situated, and it was only when the foundation stone of the building we are now in was laid that the last remnant of the Potteries in Liverpool was taken away, in the removal of one of the ovens where they fired the ware.

The last of the potters on this celebrated site was Mr. Zachariah Barnes, who died in 1820. There must be many here can recollect the Herculaneum pot-works, occupying the space now covered by the Dock that bears their name. This manufactory, after the brief career of Mr. Abbey, was carried on by Staffordshire workmen, imported from Burslem. The enterprise came to an end in 1841, after passing through several hands. Since that time Mr. Goodwin, formerly a potter at Lane-end, has attempted to revive the art amongst us, in a bank situate at Seacombe, on the other side of the Mersey; but this also, I believe, is now closed.

LIVERPOOL, *March* 1, 1871.

AN ESSAY ON SONGS AND BALLADS;

ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES FROM SHAKESPEARE, AND THOSE CURRENT IN LANCASHIRE.

By the late John Harland, F.S.A.,

AND

T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.

(READ 12TH JANUARY, 1871.)

[In order that my lamented friend may not be held responsible for any statements or opinions except his own, my additions to the Essay are enclosed within brackets.—T.T.W.]

[IN a dissertation on Songs and Ballads it may be well to define the signification of the two terms, which, though often used as meaning the same thing, are by no means synonymous. In England, *song* is the older word, being derived from the Anglo-Saxon *sang*;—our early ancestors distinguishing male from female singers, the former by *sanger* and the latter *sangistere*, or, as we now say, *singer* and *songstress*; in the latter case using a double feminine. As late as the thirteenth century the word *ballad* was not known in the English language. Though we derive it from the French *balade*, that word is not to be found in Kellam's *Norman Dictionary*, in the *Glossaire Francaise* of Ducange, nor even in the *Dictionary of the Academie Francaise*.] It is most probably borrowed by the French from the Italian *ballata*, a ball, a dance, or ballad. The French *bal*, a dance, and *baladin*, a dancer on the stage, a buffoon; and the modern term *ballet* for a stage exhibition of dancing, all show that, in its original meaning, a ballad was a song sung during a dance. A ballad usually contains a story; and in its present meaning it denotes a popular song, or roundelay, generally

sung in the streets. Usually it consisted of quatrains, or four-line stanzas; but a piece of poetry, or rhyme, in verses of eight lines each, was formerly said to be composed in *balade-royal.*

We shall but briefly glance at the *history* of the Song and the Ballad.

This rude poetry has been in all countries the earliest record of public acts and events; [the song in praise of heroes, and the incitor to living warriors to emulate the deeds of their ancestors. Tacitus tells us, in his *Annals,* that Arminius, long after his death, was remembered in the rude songs of his country; and that ballads were the only annals known among the ancient Germans. Saxo-Grammaticus, speaking of the Northern writers of a somewhat later period, says, that they drew the materials of their history from Runic songs. The Scandinavians had their Scalds, whose business it was to compose ballads, (or *Sagas,*) in which they celebrated the warlike achievements of their forefathers. In Britain, Wales, and Ireland, the ancient bards and minstrels had the like functions;] and when the warlike Edward I sought to subjugate Wales, he deemed it necessary to aim a blow at the national spirit, by destroying all the bards. Many of their compositions, however, survived; and a writer, as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, describing North Wales, says, "upon the Sundays and holidays the multitude of all "sorts of men, women, and children, of every parish, do use "to meet in sundry places, either on some hill, or on the side "of some mountain, where their harpers and crowthers sing "them songs of the doings of their ancestors."*

In process of time, as manners improved, the Ballad in every country by degrees included a wider range of subjects. It was no longer solely employed in rehearsing valorous deeds, but included in its rhymes the marvellous tale or the wild

* Ellis's *Orig. Lett. of Eng. Hist.*, vol. iii, p. 49.

adventure, occasionally becoming the vehicle of sentiment and passion; and no festivity was esteemed complete among our ancestors in the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries, which was not set off with the exercise of the minstrel's talents, who usually sang his ballads to the harp, and was everywhere received with respect. Gradually, however, these rude performances lost their attractions with the superior ranks of society. (See *Penny Cyclop. in voce.*) "When language "became refined," says Dr. Aikin, "and poetical taste "elevated by an acquaintance with the Greek and Latin "authors, the subjects of the epic muse were no longer dressed "in the homely garb of the popular ballad, but assumed the "borrowed ornament and stately air of heroic poetry, and "every poetical attempt in the sublime and beautiful cast, "was an imitation of the classical models. The native "poetry of the country was reserved merely for the humorous "and burlesque; and the term *ballad* was brought, by "custom, to signify a comic story told in low, familiar lan-"guage, and accompanied by a droll, trivial tune. It was "much used by the wits of the time as a vehicle for laughable "ridicule and mirthful satire; and a great variety of the "most pleasing specimens of this kind of writing is to be "found in the witty era of English genius, which I take to "be comprehended between the beginning of the reign of "Charles II and the times of Swift and Prior. Since that "period the genius of the age has chiefly been characterised "by the correct, elegant, and tender; and a real, or affected, "taste for beautiful simplicity has almost universally pre-"vailed."*

In the further progress of literary taste, the older ballads came to be considered as objects of curiosity, on account of the insight they afforded into the manners and modes of thinking of remote times; while the strokes of nature with

* Dr. Aikin's *Essays on Song Writing*, 8vo, London, 1770.

which they abounded, and the artless simplicity and strength of their language, excited the admiration of liberal critics. When, therefore, they had long ceased to be current in popular song or recitation, they were carefully collected by poetical antiquaries, and elucidated by historical notes; and thus a secondary importance was attached to them, scarcely inferior to that which they possessed when chanted to the harp of the minstrel. (See Dr. Aikin's *Essay* prefixed to his *Vocal Poetry*, 8vo, London, 1810.)

Chief amongst the collections of our own national ballads may be named the *Percy Reliques;* Evans's *Old Ballads*, Historical and Narrative; and Ritson's *Ancient Songs* from the time of Henry III. Amongst more recent collections *The Pictorial Book of Ballads*, Traditional and Romantic, is one of the largest and, perhaps, the best. Ritson says that the number of our own ancient printed songs and ballads which have perished must be considerable. Very few exist of an earlier date than the reign of James I, or even of his son Charles. Being printed only on single sheets, which would fall chiefly into the hands of the vulgar, who had no better method of preserving these favourite compositions than by pasting them upon the wall, their destruction is easily accounted for. The practice of collecting them into books did not commence till after Queen Elizabeth's time, and is probably owing to Richard Johnson and Thomas Deloney, (great ballad-mongers,) who, when they were advanced in years, and incapable, perhaps, of producing anything of merit, seem to have contented themselves with collecting their more juvenile, or happier compositions, into little penny books entitled *Garlands*. Of these, being popular and often reprinted, many are still extant, particularly in the Pepysian Library. (Ritson's *Diss. on Ancient Songs and Music*, p. lxxii.)

Of single-sheet songs, ballads, or broadsides, often with

the musical notation appended, a large collection was made by James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., &c.; and presented by himself to the Chetham Library, Manchester. Interspersed with proclamations, prose broadsides, and various documents in manuscript and print, the whole collection has been mounted in thirty-two volumes folio. (See Halliwell's *Catalogue of the Proclamations, Broadsides, Ballads, and Poems*, presented to the Chetham Library, London, 1851.)

To what an accident we owe the finest collection of the older Ballads in the language is shown from the following passage:—"A young Fellow of St. John's College, Cam-"bridge, visiting at the house of a country friend, saw, lying "on the floor beneath a bureau, an old, ragged, dirty paper "book, of which the housemaid had torn away half, for the "purpose of lighting her fires. Curiosity led him to rescue "the remainder from destruction, and the gentle antiquary "afterwards edited and published this treasure of minstrelsy." (Sir F. Palgrave's *History of England and Normandy*, Preface, p. xlix.) The gentle antiquary was Thomas Percy, who became D.D. and bishop of Dromore; and the fragmentary collection, thus in part only rescued by him from the flames, is now the well-known "*Percy's Reliques of* "*Ancient English Poetry*, consisting of old heroic ballads, "songs, and other pieces of our earlier poets, (chiefly of the "lyric kind,) together with some few of later date." It first appeared in three small volumes, octavo, in 1765, and has been well characterised by Ellis as "the most agreeable "selection perhaps in any language."

With all respect for the writers whose opinions we have cited above, we are inclined to place the golden era of ballad literature in England a little earlier than the reigns of the Stuart kings.

It was "in the days of good Queen Bess" that song and ballad, catch and round, madrigal and canon, formed one chief recreation of all ranks and classes, from the monarch's

court and the baron's hall, to the village hostelry or the May-pole on the green. To sing and to play some instrument was a part of the education of all youth of both sexes who could obtain any education at all. For a gentleman or lady not to be able to take, the former a tenor or bass part, the latter a treble or a "mean" (as the *alto* part was then called), was regarded as a mark of deficient training, or of boorish ignorance. Collections of pieces, words and music, were in every knightly hall and lady's bower; and at all feasts and festivals one favourite enjoyment was for the whole party to join in part-song and madrigal. Our own Shakespeare, that "sweet Swan of Avon," has given us scores of songs and ballads of his own, and has put into the mouths of the *dramatis personæ*, in many of his plays, countless snatches of quaint old ballads, of which all but these fragments are probably lost. To give every instance of this kind scattered through his dramas, would demand a large extent of space. We can only name a few prominent instances and make a general reference to the plays themselves for the full corroboration of our argument. In *Othello** we find that Iago incites Cassio to drink by singing a bacchanalian song, which, he says, he learned in England, and which is to be found in Percy's *Reliques*, its burden being "Take this old cloak "about ye." In touching presentiment of her own impending fate, Desdemona tells Emilia†—

> "My mother had a maid called Barbara;
> She was in love;—and he she loved proved mad,
> And did forsake her. She had a song of '*Willow*,'
> An old thing 'twas, but it expressed her fortune,
> And she died singing it. That song to-night
> Will not go from my mind. I have nought to do,
> But to go hang my head all at one side,
> And sing it like poor Barbara."

Then Desdemona sings—

> "The poor soul sat sighing by a sycamore tree,
> Sing all a green willow;" &c., &c.

* Act ii, Scene 3. † Act iv, Scene 3.

This is from an old song, in black letter, in the Pepys Collection at Cambridge, but Shakespeare transformed it from the complaint of a "lass-lorn bachelor" to that of a "deserted maid." [With exquisite truth and beauty the poet makes Emilia exclaim in her dying moments—

> "What did thy song bode, lady?
> Hark! canst thou hear me?
> I will play the swan, and die in music;—
> *Willow, willow, willow.*"

Who, that has seen a representation of, or indeed merely read, *Hamlet*, has failed to feel the wild sweetness of the songs of the distraught Ophelia?* Then we have the grave-diggerf† singing at his work; and Yorick, also, was a singer of merry songs.

In *Henry VIII* we learn, that in the reign of the "bluff "monarch," French songs were all the rage. But in the closing scene of this play, at the baptism of the princess, afterwards Queen Elizabeth, Cranmer blessing the infant, predicts that—

> "In her days every man shall eat in safety,
> Under his own vine, what he pleases; and sing
> *Merry songs* of peace to all his neighbours."

The prologue to *Pericles* is spoken in the character of our old poet Gower; as representing the ancient dramatic chorus—

> "To sing a song that of old was sung;
> . . . . . .
> To glad your ears, and please your eyes.
> It hath been sung at festivals,
> On Ember-eves, and Holy-ales;
> And lords and ladies in their lives,
> Have read it for restoratives."

In the first part of *Henry IV*,‡ Glendower tells Hotspur—

> "I was trained up in the English court,
> Where, being but young, I framed to the harp
> Many an English ditty, lovely well;
> And gave the tongue a hopeful ornament."

* Act iv, Scene 5. † Act v, Scene 1. ‡ Act iii, Scene 1.

Hotspur had not been cast in so gentle a mould, and hence he expresses his contempt for song and music thus—

> "I had rather be a kitten and cry *mew*,
> Than one of these same metre ballad-mongers."

Again, Mortimer tells his wife—

> "Thy tongue
> Makes Welsh as sweet as ditties highly penned;
> Sung by a fair queen in a summer's bower,
> With ravishing division to her lute."

Falstaff, too, "the merry knight," is always babbling of song and ballad*—

> "An I have not ballads made on ye all,
> And sung to filthy tunes; let a cup
> Of sack be my poison."

At the Boar's Head,† he cries out loudly for a song to make him merry.] In the second part of *Henry IV*, at the same tavern, he breaks into snatches of an old song, "When "Arthur first in court began, &c.,"‡ and calls for a "merry "song." When Sir John Coleville surrenders to him on the field, Falstaff vaunts his feat:—"Let it be booked with the "rest of this day's deeds, or by the Lord I'll have it in a "particular ballad else, with my own picture on the top of "it; Coleville kissing my feet." Such ornamentation of the old ballad-sheet by rude woodcuts was even then common.

In *Cymbeline*,§ Arviragus and Guiderius finding, as they suppose, the dead body of a youth (Imogen), the former says—

> "And let us, Polydore, though now our voices
> Have got the mannish crack, sing him to the ground,
> As once to our mother; use like note and words."

* *First Part of Henry IV*, Act ii, Scene 2. † Act iii, Scene 3.

[‡ Act ii, Scene 4; also, Percy's *Reliques*, vol. I, p. 198, ed. 1767:—
"When Arthur first in court began,
And was approved king,
By force of arms great victories wanne,
And conquest home did bring," &c.]

§ Act iv, Scene 2.

[They sing—

"Fear no more the heat of the sun,
Nor the furious Winter's rages;
Thou thy worldly task hast done,
Home art gone, and ta'en thy wages," &c.

This is not the only dirge in Shakespeare's dramas; for in *Much Ado about Nothing*, Claudius, at the supposed tomb of Hero, says—

"Now music sound, and sing your solemn hymn."

The song, or dirge, contains the words—

"Pardon, goddess of the night,
Those that slew thy virgin knight;
For the which, with songs of woe,
Round about her tomb we go."*]

It is literally true of our greatest dramatist that he has embalmed in his verse every kind of song, for every stage of life, from the cradle to the tomb. In *Titus Andronicus*,† Tamora says to Aaron—

"While hounds and horns, and sweet melodious birds,
Be unto us, as is a nurse's song
Of *Lullaby*, to bring her babe asleep."

So in the *Midsummer Night's Dream*‡ is a song with a chorus of *Lullaby*. That the bitter, stinging satire of a coarse ballad was held in great dread we infer from several scattered passages in the plays. In *Antony and Cleopatra*,§ the Egyptian queen, finding herself Cæsar's captive, fears being made a spectacle in Rome, to grace his triumph, and amongst other evils, sees and dreads lest—

"Scald rhymers, ballad us out of tune:
The quick comedians
Extemporally will stage us, and present
Our Alexandrian revels."

* Act v, Scene 3.
† Act ii, Scene 3. Douce has an interesting note on the word *Lullaby*, in his *Illustrations*, which is reproduced in Staunton's *Shakespeare*, vol. iii, p. 639.
‡ Act ii, Scene 2. § Act v, Scene 2.

[In *All's Well that Ends Well*,* when Helena offers to cure the king, he asks—"What darest thou venture?" She assures him at once that she dare venture being "traduced "by odious ballads."

That love was a fertile theme for ballads in most times, none will doubt. Hence, in *Troilus and Cressida*,† Helen says, "Let thy song be *Love*." Pindarus accordingly sings—"Love, love, nothing but love, still more!" So it is in *All's Well that Ends Well*‡ where our poet describes a melancholy man as always singing, and adds—"I knew a man that had "this trick of melancholy, and sold a good manor for a "song." The Widow also tells Helena how Bertram loves and serenades her daughter, that—

> "Every night he comes
> With musics of all sorts, and songs composed
> To her unworthiness."§]

Even songs in air and sea have not eluded the exquisite sense of the poet. We have Ariel's delicious songs in the *Tempest;* and in the *Comedy of Errors*‖ Antipholus of Syracuse exclaims: "I'll stop mine ears against the mermaid's "song." In the *Midsummer Night's Dream*,¶ Oberon also speaks of the "sea-maid's music." Armado, in *Love's Labour Lost*,** asks Moth, "Is there not a ballad, boy, of 'The king "'and the beggar?'" Moth replies, "The world was guilty "of such a ballad three ages since; but I think now it is "not to be found." This song, however, is printed in Percy's *Reliques*, and is the one alluded to by Meroutio in *Romeo and Juliet*,†† where he speaks of the time "When King Cophetua "loved a beggar-maid." In the former play Biron declares he—

> "Will no more
> Woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song."

* Act ii, Scene 1. † Act iii, Scene 1. ‡ Act iii, Scene 2.
§ Act iii, Scene 7. ‖ Act iii, Scene 2.
¶ Act ii, Scene 1. ** Act i, Scene 2. †† Act ii, Scene 1.

Again,* after the ditty—"When daisies pied and violets "blue," Armando says, "the words of Mercury are harsh "after the songs of Apollo." When we examine *Much Ado about Nothing*† we find Benedick denying that he shall die for love; and he exclaims—"Pick out mine eyes with a "ballad-maker's pen." He again asks Claudio;—"Come, in "what key shall a man take you, to go into the song?" [Don Pedro requests Balthazar‡ to let him "hear that song "again." Balthazar replies: "Oh good my lord, tax not so "bad a voice to slander music more than once." Don Pedro—"I pray thee sing." Balthazar sings—

"Sigh no more, ladies, sigh no more,
Men were deceivers ever;
One foot in sea, and one on shore,
To one thing constant never." &c.

One line of which song runs—"Sing no more ditties, sing no "mo." Don Pedro adds—"By my troth, a good song."]

We find in the *Merry Wives of Windsor*,§ when Slender longs to find favour in the eyes of Sweet Anne Page, that he exclaims, "I had rather than forty shillings I had my book "of songs and sonnets here." Mrs. Page,‖ planning a fright for Falstaff, by a number of persons in the guise of Herne the Hunter and fairies, suggests—

"Let them from forth a sawpit rush at once
With some *diffused* song,"—

this is, with some *wild* and *irregular* melody.

That charming play *As You Like It* is redolent of free forest life and jovial song. Amiens sings¶—

"Under the greenwood tree,
Who loves to lie with me,
And turn his merry note,
Unto the sweet bird's throat," &c.

* *Love's Labour Lost*, Act v, Scene 2.
† Act i, Scene 1. ‡ Act ii, Scene 3. § Act i, Scene 1.
‖ Act iv, Scene 4. ¶ Act ii, Scene 5.

Jaques asks for more, declaring "I can suck melancholy out "of a song as a weasel sucks eggs . . Come, sing; and "you that will not, hold your tongues." Jaques himself sings, "If it do come to pass," &c.; and when the Duke* asks for him, a lord replies, "He is but now gone hence. "Here was he merry, hearing of a song." Again, Celia tells Rosalind—†

> "I would sing my song without a burden;
> Thou bring'st me out of tune."

A deer being killed, Jaques asks, "Have you no song, "forester, for this purpose?" and the song is sung, "What "shall he have that killed the deer?" [When two pages of the duke meet Touchstone and Audrey in the forest, Touchstone invites them‡ to "sip and sing." One of the pages asks, "Shall we clap into't roundly, without hauking or "spitting, or saying we are hoarse, which are only the "prologues to a bad voice?" They sing—"It was a lover "and his lass;" on which Touchstone remarks, "Truly "young gentlemen though there was no great matter in the "ditty, yet the note was very untuneable." In another scene§ the Duke says, "Give us some music; and good "cousin, sing." Amiens sings—

> "Blow, blow, thou Winter wind,
> Thou art not so unkind
> As man's ingratitude."

Jaques, in the memorable "Seven Ages," pourtrays

> "The lover,
> Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow."

In the *Twelfth Night*,‖ Sir Toby calls for a catch, and Sir Andrew for a song; on which the Clown asks—"Would

* *As You Like It*, Act ii, Scene 7. † Act iii, Scene 2.
‡ Act v, Scene 3. § Act ii, Scene 7. ‖ Act ii, Scene 3.

"you have a love song; or a song of good life;" evidently meaning a song with a good moral tendency.] Sir Toby demands "a love song—a love song;" and the Clown sings, "Oh mistress mine, where are you roaming?" Again, Sir Toby asks, "Shall we rouse the night-owl in a catch, that "will draw three souls out of one weaver?" and they sing a catch according to his suggestion.

The Duke, when lovesick, exclaims*—

> "Give me some music;
> Now good Cesario, but the piece of song,
> That old and antique song we heard last night."

And again—

> "O fellow come, the song we had last night;
> Mark it, Cesario, it is old and plain;
> The spinsters and the knitters in the sun,
> And the free maids that weave their thread with bones,
> Do use to chant it. It is silly sooth,
> And dallies with the innocence of life,
> Like the old age."

The Clown then sings, "Come away, come away, death."

The *Midsummer Night's Dream*,† another woodland play, is full of song. Titania, addressing her train in the wood, says, "Come, now a roundel, and a fairy song." Then follows the song—

> "Ye spotted snakes, with double tongue,
> Thorny hedgehogs, be not seen;
> Newts and blindworms, do no wrong;
> Come not near our Fairy Queen."

Helena speaks of herself‡ and Hermia, as—

> "Both warbling of one song, both in one key."

Oberon bids every elf and fairy sprite—

> "This ditty after me
> Sing; and dance it trippingly."

Titania says§—

> "First rehearse your song by rote;
> To each word a warbling note."

* *Twelfth Night*, Act ii, Scene 4. † Act ii, Scene 2.
‡ Act iii, Scene 2. § Act v, Scene 2.

Then follow the song and dance. When Bottom awakes from his charmed dream,* he says, "I will get Peter Quince "to write a ballad of this dream: It shall be called Bottom's "dream, because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the "latter end of a play before the Duke. Peradventure, to "make it more gracious, I shall sing it after death."

The *Two Gentlemen of Verona*,† besides the beautiful song—

> "Who is Silvia? What is she,
> That all our swains commend her?
> Holy, fair, and wise is she,
> The Heaven such grace did lend her,
> That she might admired be," &c.

contains a scene between Julia and her waiting-woman Lucetta,‡ which shews the poet playing, *more suo*, with many terms of the musical art; such as tune, note, song, setting to music, burthen, sharp and flat, concord, descant, mean and base; the term *mean* implying the intermediate part between the treble and the tenor. All this is in the second scene of the first act, and we refer to it as a remarkable instance of a custom of the olden times.

We have reserved, as our last illustration from Shakespeare, his *Winter's Tale;* because in that play he has given us, in the pedlar Autolycus, a life-like picture of the English ballad-singer and vendor, of his own time. He is introduced§ singing the ballad—"When daffodils begin to peer"—which contains allusions to "the sweet birds" and "how they sing." A clown, or countryman, speaking of a sheepshearing feast, says his sister hath made him "four-and-twenty nosegays for "the shearers; *three-man song-men* all." That is, they were singers of songs in three parts. He adds that they are "very "good ones, but they are most of them means and basses: "but one Puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to

* *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iv, Scene 1. † Act iv, Scene 2.
‡ Act i, Scene 2. § Act iv, Scene 2.

"hornpipes." An old shepherd speaks of his aged dame, who, when alive, at the shearing feast "would sing her song "and dance her turn."

Florizel praises Perdita's singing, and then Autolycus is thus heralded by a servant* :—

Servant—"O master, if you did but hear the pedlar at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and a pipe: no, the bagpipe could not move you. He sings several tunes faster than you'll tell money; he utters them as he had eaten ballads, and all men's ears grew to his tunes.

Clown—"He could never come better; he shall come in. I love a ballad even but too well, if it be doleful matter merrily set down; or a very pleasant thing indeed, and sung lamentably.

Servant—"He hath songs for man or woman, of all sizes; no milliner can so fit his customers with gloves; he has the prettiest love-songs for maids; . . . . with such delicate burthens.

Clown—"Prythee bring him in, and let him approach singing.

Perdita—"Forewarn him that he use no scurrilous words in's tunes."

Autolycus then enters singing—"Lawn as white as driven "snow." The Clown demands—

"What hast here? ballads?

Mopsa—"Pray now, buy some: I love a ballad in print, a'-life; for then we are sure they are true.

Autolycus—"Here's one to a very doleful tune. How a usurer's wife was brought to bed of twenty money bags at a burden; and how she longed to eat adders' heads, and toads carbonadoed.

Mopsa—"Pray you now buy it.

Clown—"Come on, lay it by: and let's first see more ballads; we'll buy the other things anon.

Autolycus—"Here's another ballad: Of a fish, that appeared upon the coast, on Wednesday the fourscore of April, forty-thousand fathom above water, and sung this ballad against the hard hearts of maids. It was thought she was a woman, and was turned into a cold fish, because she would not exchange flesh for one that loved her: the ballad is very pitiful, and as true."

[Mr. J. O. Halliwell observes that the allusions in the preceding extract may be curiously illustrated by an early Ballad of a Fish, copied from the unique exemplar preserved in the Miller collection, entitled:—"The description of a "rare, or rather most monstrous Fishe; taken on the east

* Act iv, Scene 3. The dialogue is somewhat abridged in the extract.

"coast of Holland, the xvij of November, Anno 1566." In 1569 was published a prose broadside, containing "A true "description of the marvellous straunge Fishe, which was "taken on Tuesday was se'nnight, the 16th day of June, this "present monthe, in the year of our Lord God 1569." Also, in 1604, there was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company—"A strange report of a monstrous *fishe*, that "appeared in the forme of *a woman* from her waist upward, "seene in the Sea." And in May of the same year a ballad was entered under the title of "A Ballad of a strange and "monstrous Fishe seen in the Sea, on Friday, the 17th of "February, 1603."]

Can any one doubt, after reading these numerous passages, that the time of Shakespeare was the golden age of English ballads? We take our proposition as fully proved, and amply illustrated, in every particular. We will, therefore, now pass from the ballads of a nation to consider those of a palatinate county. In doing so, we may at once remark that both song and ballad flourished greatly in the olden times throughout all the North of England and the Midland Counties.*

[The county of Lancaster has not been prolific of ballad-loving antiquaries. In this respect she suffers when compared with her neighbouring districts. Sir Walter Scott collected and gave to the world, *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border;* and while Northumberland and Durham, Westmoreland and Cumberland, with the great shire of York, have had their respective collections of their older songs and ballads, until recently scarcely anything had been done to secure and perpetuate the fleeting, because for the most part oral and traditional, ballads of Lancashire. We know of no collection in print, till Mr. J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., added to our ballad literature the *Palatine Anthology*, being "a collection of

* Mr. Harland's manuscript ended with the first portion of this clause; the rest is added by myself to complete the Essay.—T.T.W.

"Ancient Poems and Ballads relating to Lancashire and "Cheshire." This was followed by the *Palatine Garland*, "a selection of Ballads and Fragments supplementary to the "*Palatine Anthology*." Both these works were printed in 1850, for "private circulation only," and hence their contents remain comparatively unknown to the great majority of the public. There existed, and still do exist, many other songs and ballads, not included in these collections, which are not the less worthy of permanent preservation, and deserve more than a passing notice. If we limit our inquiries to those which range through three centuries only, their subjects will be found to present much variety, and their modes of treatment are very dissimilar. It has been very justly remarked that, "amidst great social mutations, and the progress of education "and civilization, there are some broad features of English "ballad literature, especially in the subjects which most "largely hold the popular affection and regard, which in all "essentials will ever remain alike, however their outward "garb may change with the transitory tastes and fleeting "fashions of the age. The three favourite themes, alike of "the oldest ballad and the most modern song, are Love, "War, and Murder."* Many specimens of various degrees of merit may be found ranging under one or other of these three great divisions. There are also others which may more properly be described as "satirical and humorous, sporting "and bacchanalian, trade and local, songs." Many of the latter are extant only in the broad and strong vernacular dialects of different portions of Lancashire.

The principal *Ballads and Songs of Lancashire*, ranging from the time of Edward IV to the last century, have been collected and published by the author just quoted; and it is from this work that we shall select our examples in illustration of some points in our local ballad literature. Amongst

* Harland's *Ballads and Songs of Lancashire*, p. xiii.

the satirical and humorous, that of "The Tyrannical "Husband" appears to be worthy of special notice. It is the old, old story of household squabbles between man and wife, which are oftentimes more bitter than important. Wife's work, according to the ballad, is *no* work in the opinion of the husband: but wife's work is *all* work in the estimation of the wife. An interchange of duties takes place, when "confusion becomes worse confounded"; and, as Mr. T. Halliwell's version has it, the husband—

> Swore by the sun, the moon, and the stars,
> And the green leaves on the tree,
> If his wife did'nt do a day's work in her life,
> She should never be ruled by he.

The "Balade of Maryage," first given by Dr. Whitaker from the Browsholme papers, is remarkable for its keen and homely satire. There is also considerable poetical merit in the composition. The burden of the ballad relates to a "love-lorn ladye," who ventures to ask her follower when he intended to marry. His answer is characteristic; for he assures her, among many other impossible things, that—

> When Summer's sun will dry no mire,
> And Winter's rain no longer patter.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> When moor or moss do saffron yield,
> And *beck* and *syke* run down with honey;
> When sugar grows in every field,
> And clerks will take no bribe of money.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Or when the sun doth rise at noon,
> Then will my love and I be married.

On hearing this she bids him farewell, remarking very philosophically—

> I swear and vow, if this be true,
> And thou of such an evil carriage;
> If I should live ten thousand year,
> I'd never more expect thy marriage.

"Warrikin Fair;" "The Frog and the Crow;" "Dick o'

"Stanley Green;" "Blackley Courtship;" the "Lancashire "Miller;" "Jone o Grinfelt;" and several others, are equally characteristic.

Our songs and ballads relating to love matters, domestic relations, &c., &c., are of various kinds. Some of these contain metrical declarations of love without results; others exist in which such declarations end in marriage and happiness;—but there is a third, a larger, and, strange to say, a more favourite class, in which the ballad-loving public is told of desertion, envy, hatred, jealousy, and murder, under some of their most repulsive forms.

The confirmed, and ever-growing avarice of old people is well illustrated by the "Liverpool Tragedy," where an aged couple unwittingly murder their long-lost sailor son, in order to become possessed of his savings. The suicide of father and mother follows the sad discovery of his being their own offspring, and their only daughter dies mad the next day. The *moral* of the whole is not forgotten, for the ballad concludes by advising—

> Children all from disobedience flee,
> And parents, likewise, not too covetous be.

"The Unfortunate Love of a Lancashire Gentleman" is also typical of a large class. A young gentleman, whose father "was well known, and of high degree," falls in love with, and secretly marries, a young girl much inferior to him in the social scale. There was

> Nothing wanting in her
> But this, the grief of all,
> Of birth she was but lowly,
> Of substance very small:
> A simple hirèd servant,
> And subject to each call.

His father, in course of time, finds him a suitable match, and insists upon his son's marriage; but the latter contrives

for a time to repel his father's proposals. At last, however, his resolution gives way under a threat of being disinherited, and, in order to get rid of his intended wife, he stoops to treachery and murder. He declares that—

> Where nobody was near,
> I embracèd her most falsely,
> With a most feignéd chear,
> Then to the heart I stabbed
> This maiden fair and clear.

He then adopted the clumsy expedient of slightly wounding himself—

> And said that thieves to rob us
> Had wrought this deadly strife.

The artifice did not succeed. He was taken, tried, and executed. His low-born wife committed suicide, and his father "ended his days in nought." The villain's parting advice has often found a parallel in modern times, for he bids us, in the usual hypocritical style, to—

> Mark what care and sorrow,
> Forc'd marriage it doth bring;
> All men by me be warnèd;
> And, *Lord forgive my sin.*

Cruel and unnatural stepmothers find no favour in the tragedy of "Fair Ellen of Radcliffe." This lady was "her "father's only joye," and, consequently,

> Her cruel stepmothèr
> Did envye her so muche,
> That day by day she sought her life,
> Her malice it was suche.

She ultimately persuades the master cook to slay the damsel and make her flesh into pies. The father asks for his daughter during dinner, and is told that she has fled to some nunnery. He is even desired to forget her. The scullion-boy, who had previously offered his own body to the cook in order to save

his young mistress, can contain himself no longer, but "with "a loud voice so hye" informs his master that—

> If now you will your daughter see,
> My lord, out up that pye.

The discovery of the cruel murder was soon followed by condign punishment.

> Then all in blacke this lord did mourne,
> And, for his daughter's sake;
> He judged her cruel stepmother,
> To bee burnt at a stake.
>
> Likewise he judged the master cook
> In boiling lead to stand;
> And made the simple scullion boye
> The heire of all his land.

The ballad entitled "Townley's Ghost" may be parallelled by many examples from other districts. It threatens all the terrors of a spirit-world upon those who are the authors of political executions; and it also embodies the wide-spread, popular belief that even in this life the ghosts of those unjustly put to death will never cease to torment their real or supposed murderers. This superstition is older than Homer. Political feeling runs high in this ballad, and George II is made to assure the Duke of Cumberland that he is willing to be befriended by his Satanic Majesty himself, provided he can only retain the crown of England.

Shenstone's "Jemmy Dawson" has long and deservedly been a favourite with all classes. It "records one of the "many touching episodes connected with Lancashire's share "in the Rebellion of 1745"; and both its hero and heroine will command our sympathy and regret so long as our county literature shall last. James Dawson was a Captain in the Manchester regiment, commanded by Col. Francis Townley. He was affianced to Catharine Norton, "an orphan, whose "parents had been of illustrious rank."

Young Dawson was a gallant youth,
A brighter never trod the plain;
And well he loved one charming maid,
And dearly was he loved again.

One tender maid she loved him dear;
Of gentle blood the damsel came,
And faultless was her beauteous form,
And spotless was her virgin fame.

Capt. Dawson was one of those who surrendered at Carlisle; and, after trial, was hanged, drawn, and quartered. His betrothed one beheld all the horrid formalities of the law brutally carried out, without much apparent emotion; but, when—

The dismal scene was o'er and past,
The lover's mournful hearse retired;
The maid drew back her languid head,
And, sighing forth his name, expired.

The song of the "Burnley Haymakers" is probably the only representative of its class. Its learned astrological phraseology has not found any imitators. Such songs have little chance of becoming popular, because they transcend the ordinary literature of the multitude. This specimen would probably not have had a century of active life, had it not been for the comical appearance and eccentricities of "Robin o' Green, the Burnley Ballad Singer." Its composer was a country schoolmaster, and his pedantry is evident in every stanza. Some local astrologer had predicted fair weather for the hay season after a due examination of the stars, and although the sky soon became "enveloped with "clouds that threatened rain," he was—

Yet confident, and called it 'pride of the weather,'
And was assured that it was no rain;
Æolus lets loose his wings with moistened feathers,
Dipped in the Ocean to cast them here again.
Astræus puffs and blusters;
Drove the clouds in clusters,
Here rushing, there crushing, till they poured down
Such mighty clouds of rain,
As if they strove again,
By force of a new deluge this lower world to drown.

We need not continue this minute examination of the leading characteristics of our Lancashire songs and ballads. Enough has been done to prove that they are worthy of comparison with those of any other county;—and hence a brief summary of several others must suffice for the present occasion. Amongst the more fugitive, and anniversary compositions, we may range those of "James I and the Loin of Beef;" all the May Songs and Christmas Carols; the Wassail Songs; and even some of the Jacobite effusions relating to the Rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Many excellent pieces appertaining to these events are now unfortunately lost. To print or publish them, in any way at the time, was treasonable, and hence many have died with their authors. Even the relaxation of the law, at a later period, did not prevent the loss of many which were once popular amongst the Jacobites in Lancashire.

The field-sports of our local gentry have met with a fair share of attention from our local poets. The "Stonyhurst "Buck-hunt;" the "Radcliffe Otter-hunt;" the "Death of "an Old Huntsman;" and the "Bonny Grey," may be cited as illustrative of this class. There is a fragment entitled the "Extwistle Hunt," known only to one or two old men in East Lancashire, which is of much the same character as the Stonyhurst song, but applied to the hare. The doings of an old hound form the burden of several stanzas; and the Parkers of Extwistle, subsequently of Cuerden, are awarded their meed of praise as daring sportsmen.

Of strictly bacchanalian songs we have comparatively few. The chief of these are "The Christmas Wassail Bowl," and that in praise of "Warrington Ale." This paucity cannot have arisen from the temperate habits of our gentry; for towards the close of the last century, the practice of drinking until the last man fell under the table, was as common in Lancashire as in any other county. Our more modern trade songs are far more numerous. Of these, we may instance—

"Hand-loom *versus* Power-loom;" the "Hand-loom Weaver's "Lament;" and "Grimshaw's Factory Fire," as being worthy of examination, and characteristic of popular feeling. In most ballads and songs of this class there is generally an earnest outcry against machinery, with a constant refrain respecting the oppression of the poor by their employers. Even the destruction of new inventions by fire is lauded as an instance in which that element assisted in avenging the wrongs of the oppressed.* There was frequently too much reason for these somewhat violent effusions. Those who remember the manly truthfulness and lofty power of Bamford's "God help the "Poor," will need no further proof that oppression did once exist under some of its most galling forms; and hence the severity of some of our local bards.

There are several local songs and ballads which have not yet found their way into any printed collection. Of these, the "Owdham Recruit" is not devoid of merit. It is also interesting, as containing several local phrases and allusions, mixed up with a considerable share of racy Lancashire humour. After each verse there is a portion in prose, which is marked as to be "spoken," an example which has been followed by some of our modern comic musical composers. In the first recitation the "recruit" very humourously describes his enlistment "for a Captain"; in the next he is before "the "justice to be detested"; afterwards he complains of not being allowed to act as Captain, and sets off "to gang toards "whoam agen." He is soon arrested, and carried before a "cooart marshall" which orders him "six and thirty good "wallopers" for deserting. This, however, produces no improvement, and he is finally "drummed out" to the tune of the "Rogue's March." We give the ballad itself from a local broadside:—

* Harland's *Ballads*, p. 275.

The Oldham Recruit.

When i're a young lad, sixteen years ago,
I lov'd a pretty lass, and followed the plough;
But somehow or other I was ne'er content,
Till I like a *noddy** for a sodger went.
There were such shouts of mirth and glee,
For I thowt I should a Captain be.
Bud ah! by *gum!* I wur varra much mista'en,
And monny a time I wished mysel at t' plough-tail again.

So we march'd and march'd abeawt Owdham streets,
Where they tried to persuade me 'twas my turn to treat;
I treated them all till we geet drunk as *foos*,
Between serjeant, me, and corporal, there wur nod mich to chuse;
I thowt that my *brass* wod never ha been done,
Thinks I but we shall live a life of rare fun.
Bud ah! by gum! I wur varra much mista'en,
And monny a time I wished mysel at t' plough-tail again.

Bud when my brass wur o spent and dun,
They pushed me about for a bit of roaring fun;
By gum, they'd like to *throttled* me; eh what a sin;
With a collar stiff as steel just stuck under my chin,
They cut my hair so close, sure, and gathered such a crop,
They made me soon i'th regiment a real dandy fop.
Bud ah! by gum! I wur varra much mista'en,
And monny a time I wished mysel at t' plough-tail again.

I'st never forget what a fuss of me they made,
When we went to a *pleck* ut they coed their parade;
If I could look to pleeos um theer, may I indeed be brunt,
For they wanted all at once my *een*, left, reet, and front;
Then o in a row like fire *potters* we wur stood,
And my toes would'nt turn in let me do wot I could;
I listed for a Captain; but, by gum, I wur mista'en,
And monny a time I wished mysel at t' plough-tail again.

I wondered wot the *dickins* could ever be the matter,
For they shut me in the guard-house to live on bread and *watter;*
And when I offered then to quit that ugly place,
A soldier with his *bagnet* stood staring in my face:
I began then a thinkin that my case was varra bad,
For i're wur off by far than when i'th awkard squad.
I listed for a Captain; but, by gum, I wur mista'en,
And monny a time I wished mysel at t' plough-tail again.

The "Cockey Moor Snake" has had more than one imitation, both in prose and verse. Tim Bobbin's "Man of Heaton "and the Flying Dragon" is a composition of the same

* See *Glossary*.

character; but it is not easy to decide which is the model. Both are intended to ridicule the countryman's ignorance of various articles of dress. We give the satire from a broadside, which lacks the printer's name:—

Cockey Moor Snake.

Come listen to my sportive lay,
While I relate what people say;
About a hunt which happened o'er,
And on a place called Cockey Moor.
A lady she walked out one day,
And had got on a new boä;
She through the fields her way did steer,
In the summer season of the year:
But as the day was rather warm,
She hung her boa upon her arm;
She thought she had it quite secure,
But dropped it down on Cockey Moor.

The lady on her way did hie,
And weavers two by chance passed by;
They saw it stretchéd upon the ground,
Bill cried out "Jack! What's this we've found?"
Just at this time the west wind blew
And twirled the boa round the two!
"By gum," said Jack, "I tell thee Bill,
"Its summat *wick*, it waint stand still."
Then close inspection they did make,
When Bill cried out "it is a snake!"
And from it they did run, and roar
"A snake! a snake! on Cockey Moor."

Now off they ran as quick as thought,
Their neighbours to a man they brought;
They told them all what they had seen
Twisting and twirling on the green.
"It's three yerds lung," they each did say,
"Its colour neither black nor grey;
"The middle thick, the ends wur small,
"By gum, it hed noa legs at all!
"Yoan oft heerd tell o them there whales,
"That's got no head, but has two tails;
"Beside its covered o'er wi yure,
"There's noa sich game on Cockey Moor."

When awt folk round had heard the news,
Some took their spades and some their *shoos*;
This took a pike, and that a rake,
And off they set to hunt the snake.

Their terrier dogs they also took,
In case that it might take the brook;
And whistled on the hounds that day
For fear the snake might run away.
With rusty bay'nets not a few,
That had shone bright at some review,
The people hied from every door,
To kill the snake on Cockey Moor.

As they drew nearer to the place,
Fear and surprise stood in each face;
For there the snake lay on the ground,
Just like a hoop in circle round.
The bravest then out loudly spoke—
"I say, my lads, this is no joke,
"Keep back your dogs, don't go too near;
"I wish my gron-feyther wur here;
"He'd tell us soon before it dies,
"Whether it walks, or swims, or flies;
"Or if he's seen the like afore,
"For he's th' owdest mon on Cockey Moor."

To this wise plan they soon agreed,
And fetched the old man with much speed;
For many months he had been sick,
So in a cart they wheeled him quick;
Just as the old man did arrive,
Jack shouts aloud "its yet aloive!"
So in his cart the old man bent,
And eyed it o'er with much intent:
"Now wheel me back," old Roger said,
"That is a thing that God ne'er made;
"Adam ne'er kersun'd this I'm sure,
"The Devil has come to Cockey Moor."

Now when they heard it was the Devil,
They vow'd they'd plague that fause old rebel;
And each one to the other said,
For once Old Nick shall soon be laid.
Then all poor Satan they surround,
When lengthways lying on the ground;
They swore they would no pity take
For thus appearing like a snake;
To make sure work they did intend,
To cut it up from end to end,
And vow'd they'd either kill or cure,
That devil-snake on Cockey Moor.

Their dogs ne'er once set up a yell,
Because they there no blood could smell
Some said it was a thing quite rare,
But thought the Devil had none to spare;

His dwelling place being very warm,
His blood dried up as with a charm;
Now wandering through the world so loose,
They'd catch Old Nick, and "cook his goose."
So then for Satan dug a hole,
His body buried without soul,
And prayed that it might rise no more
To frighten folks on Cockey Moor.

Now to the church all went next day,
To hear the parson preach and pray;
And as he opened out his book,
This truly was the text he took—
"Satan was made—and so was Sin—
"God made a hole to put him in."
Then crazy Dick stood up and cries,
"Stop parson, stop! Tha'art tellin lies;
"I know quite well the Devil is laid,
"I helped to bury him with my spade;
"We made a hole quite deep I'm sure,
"An tumbled him in on Cockey Moor."

"What was his shape?" his reverence said,
"Just like a snake th' owd lad wur made;
"All covered o'er with bristly hair:"
They laughed to see the parson stare.
"If this be true, Dick, what you say,
"I'm sure it was my wife's boä;
"She lost it as she walked about,
"Somewhere between this and Tumfowt;
"And if the snake you'll bring to me,
"Five shillings I will give to thee.
"You've made a great mistake I'm sure
"No snakes can crawl on Cockey Moor."

Now off Dick went, and soon he brought,
That which the parson eager sought;
He brought him in a bag, alas!
"Come now," says Dick, "let's have that brass."
The parson then put down the crown,
When to his friends Dick turned him round;
"Come on my lads, we'll have a spree,
"For each to this his share can be."
But when the shreds of boa were out,
"Curse on you all," he loud did shout,
"I never was so tricked before,
"With devil-snakes from Cockey Moor."

It may not be uninteresting to notice the scenes where most of these songs and ballads have been laid. To some extent the localities have given their colourings to their

subjects. Bewsey Hall, the scene of the feud between the Butlers and the Stanleys, stood near Warrington;* Radcliffe Tower, connected with the improbable tragedy of Fair Helen, lies between Bury and Manchester; Hoghton Tower, famous for the Sir Loin, is still a conspicuous object near Blackburn; Lea Hall is not far from Preston, and is connected by the "Ballad of the Blessed Conscience" with a feud between the Hoghtons and the Langtons, in which Sir Thomas Hoghton was slain. We are, however, of opinion that Mr. Whittle has exercised his powers, as editor of this broadsheet, with considerable freedom. Some of the ideas embodied in the stanzas scarcely seem to belong to the period assigned to the composition. Several of the verses have a decidedly modern cast. It is sometimes dangerous to attempt improvements on the frame-work of an old ballad. We must not omit to mention Dr. Byrom's description of "Careless Content." This poem is not only almost unique, but is one of the happiest efforts of the kind in our language. Its complete *abandon* is remarkable; its felicity of expression and its high moral sentiment have rarely been equalled, perhaps never excelled.†

"I am content, I do not care,
  Wag as it will the world for me;
When fuss and fret was all my fare,
  It got no ground as I did see:
So when away my caring went,
I counted cost, and was content.

. . . . . .

I sue not where I shall not speed,
  Nor trace the turn of every tide;
If simple sense will not succeed,
  I make no bustling, but abide;
For shining wealth, or scaring woe,
I force no friend; I fear no foe."

The pleasing alliterations of this, and some of our other

* *The Bewsey Tragedy and its Legend*, Harland's *Ballads*, pp. 18-22.
† Harland's *Ballads*, pp. 173-177.

songs and ballads, are worthy of consideration. Considerable use is made of accented final syllables; and in Sheale's "Love Song" we have an instance of the old pronunciation of *would, should, could,* &c., as rhyming with *mould, gold,* &c.; a practice which is not yet forgotten by some of those who have passed their "three-score years and ten."

The localities mentioned in other songs are pretty well distributed over the county. Amongst these we find Manchester, Preston, and Warrington; Liverpool, Swinton, and Stretford; Stonyhurst, Blakeley, and Northen; Oldham, Greenfield, and Droylesden; Burnley, Gorton, and Middleton; besides many minor places on the banks of the Mersey and the Ribble. Most of these places have been rendered famous in national or local history, by the presence of lordly or knightly families; several of whose sons have distinguished themselves by their prowess in war, their gallantry in love, or their ferocity in family feuds. Such actions nearly always found some local rhymester ready to celebrate these deeds in his rude, and sometimes doggrel lines; but they were none the less welcome on this account. The pedlars, too, were ever ready to adapt these loose and halting rhymes to some popular melody, and sing them to admiring audiences who cared little or nothing for the loss or gain of a poetical foot.

The ballad-singers of the present day are not much in advance of their predecessors, who followed the same trade three centuries ago. They are never at a loss for a melody suited to some doleful tale; nor do a few deficient or redundant syllables impede the course of the minstrel's drone. It is interesting, too, to observe how frequently ancient compositions are adapted to suit modern occurrences. The frame-work of the old ballad is preserved almost entire; but the skeleton is re-clothed with the muscle and sinew of some similar event of modern date. Metrical ghost stories have thus done duty on many occasions; the poetical adventures

of the first "love-lorn ladye" have had many imitations; and the "doleful ditty," which announced some "awful "murder," two or three centuries ago, was heard to "new "words" when Weatherill, of Todmorden, committed his atrocious crime.

In Songs and Ballads on any given subject, there is generally a substratum common to many counties, and it may be to several countries. There is a difference of detail to some extent, but the main features are nearly identical. It would be no difficult task to *skeletonise*, or form *root models*, of our Popular Traditions, Nursery Rhymes, Songs, and Ballads. Were this done to any considerable extent, we should find many similarities of detail, many coincidences of event, and not a few identical results. The *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the *Ballads and Songs of Lancashire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, &c.*, contained in the works of Scott, Halliwell, Harland, Leigh, Jewitt, and others, form easily accessible sources for such an examination. There would probably be no great difficulty in determining how much is common property, so far as these counties is concerned, and what is peculiar to each locality. It appears to us that the former element will much exceed the latter, since the *general* stock has been accumulating for many centuries, and has, at times, received large additions from other countries. It is also much easier for those whose "business "is sheets," to imitate a given model, than to invent an entirely new frame-work for a popular Song or Ballad.]

GLOSSARY.

Bagnet - - A bayonet.
Brass - - Money, or coin of any kind.
Dickins - - A substitute for Devil.
Een - - - Eyes.

Fauss - - - Cunning.
Foes - - - Fools.
Gum - - - A substitute for God, in a more forcible expletive.
Noddy - - A very foolish person.
Old Nick - A local name for the Devil.
Pleck - - - A space of ground.
Potters - - Fire pokers.
Sheos - - - Shovels.
Throttled - Strangled, choked.
Watter - - Water, according to local pronunciation.
Wick - - - Alive.
Yure - - - Hair.

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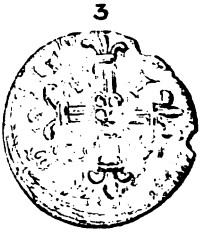

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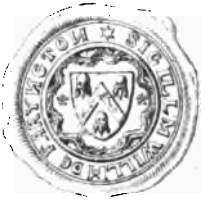

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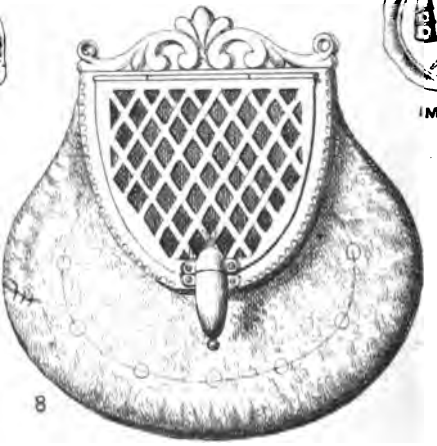

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REDUCED

1. *Inscription at Eccleston Church.* 2.3. *Seal & Token Birkenhead Priory.*
4. *Silver Seal of Wm De Farynglon.* 5. *Latten Seal, Cheshire Shore.*
6. *Brass Seal.* 7. *Gold Coin of Innudardus.* 8. *Purse of leather & steel.*

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE MERSEY DISTRICT, 1870.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

(Read 6th April, 1871.)

Retrospective.

In our last "annual" a very remarkable coin was described, one of about two hundred silver pennies which had been discovered in Wales, and strongly suspected, through fear of the unrighteous and impolitic claims of the Crown, to have been consigned, as is too frequently the case, to the melting pot. Nothing more has been heard of this "find;" which, so far as we are aware, is now solely represented by the unique piece in the writer's collection, inscribed on either side to the redoubtable hero of antiquity, Julius Cæsar. The piece was esteemed a *counterfeit sterling;* and application to the best British numismatists failed to elicit any other appropriation of this acknowledged novelty. Mr. Samuel Smith, jun., having long directed especial attention to mediæval coinages of the continent, was naturally attracted by the story of this singular penny, and after a personal inspection had assured him of the *genuineness* of the coin, and produced a simultaneous suspicion that it was of *foreign* rather than British origin, he entered upon a new line of investigation. The result of his research is curious, if not conclusive, in shewing its probable claim to be an *esterling* of a continental sovereign, in place of a mere forgery of an English sterling. Mr. Smith remarks,—

"Ever since you were good enough to shew me the very "interesting sterling with the name of Julius Cæsar, I have "been puzzling my brains to find a solution for the first "word, NŌM, for I could not accept either your theory of its

"being an English forgery or your reading, '*nomine*.' This "evening I have had the time to go into the question, and "beg now to offer you the following explanation:—In Barthe-"lemy's excellent little work, *Nouveau Manuel complet de* "*Numismatique du Moyen age et Moderne*, occurs the "passage:—'The Counts of Sancerre adopted for type a "'crowned head, which was none other than that of Julius "'Cæsar, whom Sancerre claimed as its founder. This type "'was preserved until the 14th century, with this difference, "'that the Counts ceased to inscribe their own names on the "'coins, the legends remaining,—SACRVM CESARIS and "'IVLIVS CESAR.' Your coin is, therefore, a sterling of one "of the Counts of Sancerre—a town lying nearly due south "of Paris, in the department of the Cher—and was, I should "say, struck in the early part of the 14th century. My "French catalogues mention several coins bearing the above "inscription, but none of these exactly resemble yours, which "is interesting, not merely as representing a *new mintage*, "but also as the only coin of the type which I have seen, "issued from a mint *south of Paris*—the most southerly one "I had hitherto found on esterlings being that of Toul. I "am of the opinion that Sancerre is simply a corruption of "the reverse legend, 'Sacrum Cesaris,' probably agreeing "with *oppidum*, or some equivalent word understood. The "objection to the commencing letters on the obverse, 'NOM,' "being rendered *nominis* is, as you will have seen, that the "'Julius Cesar' following should have been in the genitive "case." Our opinion is, that the "Cesar" is simply a contraction of Cesaris, although no sign appears except the want of space, the final *r* abutting closely upon the divisional +.

Canoe at Martin Mere.—The notice of this canoe, and the occurrence here of other and similar small craft, has excited interest in several quarters; but the writer was unaware that an example had been exhumed in our own immediate neigh-

bourhood, viz., Wallasey Old Pool, a description of which, he is informed, may be found in either the first or second volume of the *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*.

MISCELLANEOUS DISCOVERIES IN LIVERPOOL.

The fact of a *Roman coin* found beneath the feet of the dwellers in town, though of rare occurrence, is yet one of importance, in proof that the baseless assertion made in certain quarters that the Romans never located hereabout, is not to be the opinion of unprejudiced men. The piece before us, one struck by a member of the Constantine family, and consequently, like all the later numismatic series of the empire, of small size, is by no means in the best state of preservation. It is, however, plainly a piece issued by Constantine junior (Constantinus II, A.D. 338), the reverse bearing a female figure, standing; probably a "*Virtus*" or a "*Pax*." The coin was found in course of drainage on the borders of Sefton Park, in the Spring of the year.

Among old family relics "odd" objects may naturally be anticipated; but unfortunately such are usually thrown away, or what is much the same thing, given as playthings to children. A friend of the writer's found a small object in his tool box, which had evidently been saved to utilize as the handle of some brad awl, gimlet, or other instrument. It seems to have been the top of a walking cane, carved in rose or other dark-coloured wood, and possesses a globular recess, opening by a screw at the centre; probably a receptacle for smelling salts.

"The doctor came, and *smelt his cane*"—

occurs in an old song, and here we may have a relic of the custom. At the apex a circular seal of latten has been inserted, engraved with the gate of a castle, its portcullis lowered, whilst upon either side is a tower, surmounted, like the gateway, by an unusually elevated conical turret, and each having a double pennant flying atop. The little design

is very quaint, and bespeaks a greater age than the wooden object in which it is set. See plate, No. 6.*

A *Purse* in leather, mounted with steel, the writer recently came into possession of, from some old family leavings, which may date from the beginning of the last century. Not only excellent in its form and the materials of which it is composed, it possesses one great advantage over purses now in use; the contents may be displayed by a slight reversing of its position without opening—the steel top, of a reticulated pattern, and covering nearly half of the front side, being perforated. This is terminated above by a scroll ornament and central fleur-de-lys, with a loop at each angle for suspension to the chatelaine, or more immediately to the girdle. Below, it narrows into an acorn-shaped hasp, the coil spring of which is still in good order. The pouch-shaped receptacle is composed of untanned leather, and has been so strongly sewn around the edge that it appears never to have given way, whilst the skin itself has been broken behind and cobbled up by some "prentice han'." It is engraved about one-third the actual size (No. 8), which is 4¼ inches in height by 4 inches in breadth.

A religious *Triptychon* has lately been procured by Mr. Holder, found, we believe, in the course of the previous year in the cellar of an old house. In each of its three recessed compartments of wood, mounted in brass, a figure group is painted, and, as usual, in dark colours. Upon each of these divisions a frame of cast silver-gilt fits, perforated so as to shew the heads and other portions of the figures within, and inscribed in each case with the name of the saint depicted, and leaving the clothes, &c., in relief. The central compartment represents a half-length of the Virgin and Child, and each of the lateral ones three saints standing.

* A suggestion has been made that a prison or house of correction has been intended, and that the seal has belonged to a sheriff's wand.

RIDY LITH LIVERPOOL

INSCRIBED RUSSIAN TRYPTICHON

FOUND IN THE CELLAR OF A HOUSE IN COLLINGWOOD ST LIVERPOOL. 1870.

The silver plates display the bodies in relief, upon a scrolled ground, and with digitated borders. The inscriptions, though perfect, are in a recondite character—a Hierarchical Sclavonic one—being only intended for the use of ecclesiastics of the Russian Church; consequently we have had considerable difficulty in finding an interpreter. The three figures to the left of the triptychon represent SS. Nicholas, Elias, and Matthew, and those to the right SS. John-the-Baptist, Theodore, and another whose name has not yet been identified. The central group is entitled "Mother of God" and "Jesus Christ."

The super-position of unattached plates is the result of the rule of the Greek Church forbidding adoration to graven images; but pictures being allowed in churches, these frames were removed upon the production of the triptychon in public. The date of the object itself we are inclined to refer to the latter part of the 17th century, and that of the plates to at least a century later, if not to the present one.

Roman Remains at Wilderspool.

Dr. Kendrick of Warrington kindly furnishes the following epitome of the results of the past year's operations at this station, now assumed to be the *Condate* of Antoninus:—

"With the exception of a few weeks, during which the "severe frost put a stop to our building trade, and consequently "to the chief demand for sand, our Wilderspool excavations "have proceeded with exciting rapidity, and with a correspond-"ing good harvest of Roman remains accruing. As heretofore, "fragments of pottery constitute the chief portion of our "discoveries, but many of these are of much interest; and I "think I may say that our Warrington Free Museum now "possesses examples of every known variety of Roman pottery, "Two or three of these objects, of more special interest, may "perhaps be worthy of notice in the next annual notice of our "local doings.

"Firstly, I would name two small vessels of red earthenware, "known as *Tetinæ*, or feeding bottles for infants, such as have "been discovered by the Abbè Cochét in France. They are of "the same form and size, the height of each being 4½ inches, "and the breadth at the widest part 3½ inches. The neck of "each vessel is contracted, and the orifice covered with a "broken fragment or crock. The two were found side by side "in an erect position in a conical pit, supported by broken "pottery, and about 18 inches below the original (Roman) "surface. Each *tetina* was furnished with a slender spout, "and with a handle; but these last were affixed to opposite "sides, so that one could only be used with the right, the other "with the left hand. Each was two-thirds full of a fine green "sand, amongst which I think that under the microscope I can "detect crystals of phosphate of lime; but I have searched "without success for any distinct fragments of bone.

"Secondly, of the same common red earthenware we have "found two small vases or cups, joined together by a band of "clay, or perhaps a hollow pipe, but the orifice in the interior "of the vessels is so small that I am uncertain whether there "was originally any communication, or whether it is the result "of a recent fracture. Originally, there were three of these "urns or vases arranged triangularly, but in this case the third "division or receptacle is missing. Mr. Ll. Jewitt informs "me that he has one or two of these singular vessels, found on "Roman sites, but I have never before seen any mention or "description of them.

"Lastly, I may mention that during the past few weeks, but "never previously, many of the *mortaria*, of which hundreds "are found at Wilderspool, though in a fractured state, have "been turned up, furnished with nicely-balanced handles or "ansæ. So far as I at present know, these adaptations have "not been previously seen or described.

"Six or eight *bronze fibulæ* have been found—some bow-

"shaped, others penannular; also *hair-pins* of the same "material, and a lozenge-shaped ornament in pale blue and "green enamel.

"In iron, several fine examples have occurred of Roman "keys; and knives are rather abundant, one being of the form "used at sacrifices, and not unfrequently appearing in relief "upon the sides of altars.

"The coins, chiefly of bronze, range from Vespasian to "Hadrian."

ANGLO-SAXON SCULPTURED REMAINS, WEST KIRBY.

The sculptured remains of the Anglo-Saxon Church of St. Bridget, and the sepulchral monuments associated with it and the contemporaneously existing Church upon Hilbre, have formed the subject of an extended and separate memoir. The former, disclosed during operations in furtherance of the recent restoration of the mother church, were briefly noticed in our last "annual." An elaborate description of these ecclesiastical structures, and the correlative features of their sites and neighbourhood, is thus presented. It is illustrated by the new chalk process, on grained paper, of Messrs. Maclure, Macdonald and Macgregor, as also by photograph, &c., the cost of engraving having been defrayed by a local subscription. The writer cannot, however, take leave of the subject without allusion to an omission, for which, nevertheless, he is irresponsible. He desired to include the interesting though somewhat later headstones bearing incised crosses; and the finest of these, which remained in the masonry near the north-east angle of the old tower, was repeatedly promised for extraction. It was not till the new roof of the chancel had completely covered it in, that the writer found, with regret, the impossibility of securing a drawing.

At the particular request of the neighbouring gentry, several fine views have been executed in photograph of the restored church, by Messrs. Robinson and Thompson, in several sizes,

and should sufficient encouragement be given by the public, these gentlemen inform us they are disposed to illustrate others of the more interesting parish churches of our district in similar style.

During the progress of the demolition of old walls and the excavations for the restored church, several coins, both in silver and copper, were noticed, and preserved by the Rector. The best of these, having been kindly submitted for inspection, are found to comprise—

A Silver Penny of Alexander III of Scotland, from his latest mintage, executed between A.D. 1280 and 1289;

A Silver Groat of Henry VII, first coinage;

A Quarter-shilling of Elizabeth, dated 1574;

A Copper Farthing of Elizabeth, dated 1602.

The scarcest piece in the lot is the last-named, but two of similar type, save being dated the previous year, have been found on the neighbouring Meols beach, where also two silver pennies of Alexander III, of an earlier mintage than the above, were some years ago picked up.

A Vaulted Interment at Warrington.

In the latter part of the past year, as I am informed by Mr. J. Paul Rylands of this town, the formation of a new sewer, along the White Bear entry, disclosed a vaulted sepulchral chamber, built of ashlar stone. Within it reposed a male skeleton, which the contractor for the work, Mr. Heaton, states must have been that of a man standing at least six and a half feet in height. It is to be regretted that no objects were noticed by the workmen in or about this mortuary chamber, which might have led to a satisfactory conclusion as to its age. In the entry, but wholly unconnected with the vault, a cannon-ball and several coins both in silver and copper were met with, but these, in common with the human remains, have all disappeared. There seems good reason to believe this site to have formed part of the cemetery attached

to the mediæval Priory; and during delving operations odd skeletons have at times been found in the immediate neighbourhood.

Archæological Produce of the Cheshire Sea Beach.

No favouring conjunction of north-easterly winds with moderate or mid spring tides having occurred during the year, the result is a very meagre addition to the conserved relics of collectors.

Ancient-British Period.

Two finely-barbed arrow-heads in flint were found opposite Great Meols during the summer; but much earlier, and consequently more interesting, manipulated objects, in this useful substance, have been discovered by the writer, on the "Little "Eye," as it is generally called, the smallest of the Hilbre islets, now fast succumbing to the wear and tear of the elements in this exposed site. The forms of silex here, comprise knives, "scrapers," arrow points of rude and hasty make, with many others of uncertain use, and chiefly fragmentary. Occasionally, some of these worked flints are found protruding from the small remains of a bank upon its north-eastern or landward side, but more are usually to be met with washed down to the average of high-water mark, where they appear in connexion with shells, pebbles, and fragments of the sandstone rock.

Anglo-Saxon Period.

The only object of this era has likewise occurred on Hilbre, but in this case upon the main island. It is a small bead in opaque glass, of a greenish-blue colour, and in form of a barrel, or, to use the technical term, a *frustrum of a spheroid.* This shape among antique beads is almost, if not wholly, confined to Egyptian and Anglo-Saxon examples, a connexion which proves singular. Two beads of similar character, and

probably from the same necklace, were likewise found by Miss Hughes, of the telegraph station here, whilst gardening, in 1867.

Mediæval Period.

A few Silver Pennies of Henry II and III and the early Edwards, minted at London and Durham, have been found, including halves; but only one calls for remark. It is a round "short cross" penny of Henry II, reverse "TONIAS ON NICO," the last word representing the place of mintage, viz. Lincoln, the produce of which is scarce.

A Groat, one of the very few here found, was struck in Dublin, probably by Edward III; mint mark, a rose.

The young son of a Hoylake fisherman picked up at low water, in the latter part of the year, a gold piece; but on his way to Birkenhead, where he had thought to dispose of it, the coin was somehow lost. The only other mediæval coin in gold of which we remember to have heard, was disposed of by the finder's mother to a Jew pedlar. Thus both have been lost to collectors.

A Seal in latten, an impression from which is engraved of the actual size (No. 5), represents the "*Agnus Dei*," with circumscription "IN IVESV." Apparently some blundering has occurred here, as the first v was not required, inasmuch as the only possible rendering (as it appears to us) is "*In Jesus.*"

An ornament from a vessel, in *yellow coloured glass*, consisting of a loop terminating in a rose, is worthy of notice, from the extreme rarity of articles in glass of English manufacture from the Anglo-Saxon era down to that of Elizabeth. Hitherto the only mediæval objects in this material found here, so far as we can recall, have been beads and a few *heads of dress pins;* and it is impossible to say with certainty what larger object this little ornament has belonged to.

During recent reports of the objects found on the shore, we have frequently had to allude to some of these as additions to the collections of Mr. Charles Potter; but as yet his theories on the stratification have been only incidentally referred to, as we trusted a longer acquaintance would have served to dispel his newly fledged notions. Unfortunately this has not eventuated; and, not satisfied with geological assumptions condemned by unprejudiced geologists, not merely of this but every other neigbourhood, who have heard of them, this gentleman has thought proper, in a *brochure* read before the Geological Society, to deny statements which we have made and repeated for years as to the archæological produce of the strata, only made after most patient investigation pursued for years. We shall not follow the whole of his sweeping and often groundless assertions, geological or historic, but content ourselves with a single extract, to illustrate the thorough untrustworthiness of this writer's averments, and the dogmatic position he has endeavoured to assume over his contemporary scientific students.

Some three years ago, at his request, we called at his residence to examine and report upon the latest additions to his collection, when some pottery, similar to that lying before us, was shewn as procured from what he erroneously calls the "surface soil," and as *Roman* produce. Its clearly mediæval character was at once pointed out, and the correction was *accepted by Mr. Potter*. Some months after this occurrence the paper, from which I have already quoted, was by him passed through the press, and in it occur the following remarks. After an allusion to the tillage, and shells, marine and land, found in this particular bed, he continues—"Mixed with these I have discovered *Roman* and mediæval "remains; although I have carefully sought, I have never "found a fragment of man's handiwork imbedded in any of "the lower strata. I have picked up many pieces of *Roman*

"*pottery* and other antiquities from the surface of those beds, "and collected a much larger quantity, which have been found "by others; but I have no reason for supposing that a single "specimen in my possession came from any other than the "present land surface, from which they have been washed by "and strewn by the waves over the lower beds." Here the writer has not only published what he had been clearly informed was incorrect (and acknowledged the correction), but speaks as though no one could have used their ordinary senses except himself. It is within our knowledge that the only Roman pottery found in this neighbourhood was neither obtained *from* the stratum in question, nor even *near* it. Not half a dozen pieces have as yet been recognised, and one of these was found inland and quite beneath the bed which he confuses with the land surface, from which it is quite distinct. No single stratum has obtained more careful examination from ourselves than this for many years past. We were the first to point out its thoroughly mediæval character, when Mr. Potter knew nothing of its very existence; and we are morally certain that, except in cases of *purposed deposition*, no Roman object of any kind has been found in or washed from it. Such writing can ultimately serve no good cause or argument.

Upon more than one occasion we have had to notice the extraordinary lucubrations of Mr. Joseph Boult in reference to the peculiar features of this shore, archæological and geological. With the latter we care to meddle but little, except where they militate against the historic *facts* palpable here, especially as they form the subject of discussions in other quarters. His theories relative to the occurrence of the antiquarian objects have all been strangely wide of the mark; but recently, in further "Speculations on the former Topo-"graphy of Liverpool and the Neighbourhood," he has outdone all previous notions in wildness of conception.

Drowning men are said to catch at straws; and Mr. Boult, unable to induce sensible people to believe these relics to have been *washed down from Chester*, or simply *wrecked upon our beach;* or again, that the poor, ignorant Romans ever utilised or even cared to know our shores, has, at length, resolved to clothe the skeleton of his "wrecked goods" theory with flesh, in the following manner:—

Inasmuch as the recent discovery of Spanish coin upon the sands of West Hartlepool is not held to be proof of a Spanish settlement on that coast, or the objects found corroborative thereof; *ergo*, the same principle will apply to the Cheshire coast and its produce! The cases are totally dissimilar, but he proceeds to suggest—that the Meols relics *may have been purchased in considerable quantities by the motley hangers on of the army of William III in Chester, and in the hurry of embarkation at Hoylake, or from want of ship room, the packages containing these antiquities have been left behind on or near the beach.* These in the course of time have got broken up, and their contents dispersed along the shore by flood tides! We shall be much surprised if any sober person will not exclaim that, "of all "lovers of the marvellous, who are ever ready to accept any "story which avoids probability, even though it be as extra-"vagant as the tale of the 'Three Black Crows,'" the most credulous is Mr. Boult himself! The above is certainly put into the mouth of a suppositious individual, but if it is not advanced as a possible, if not probable, solution of the question, words have no meaning. This theorist has evidently learnt nothing during all these years of experience of the positions in which the several classes of objects are actually found. He has chosen to confound them together, and treat as a confused mass what have sensible and well-defined bounds. All the known facts are utterly subversive of his groundless theories. He sneers at "collectors of

"antiquities;" but we had infinitely rather be the recorder of simple and well-ascertained facts, than the author of any number of visionary theories, however ingenious. The students of a future generation will find it hard to realize the fact that this gentleman was very recently the President of a local Archæological Society. Had he been more of an antiquary, and less of a *speculative topographer*, he could never have committed such a vagary to the press.

The British Association and the Relics of Ancient Meols.

The late meeting in September of the British Association for the Advancement of Science appearing to offer an excellent opportunity for bringing before its more prominent members and associates the remarkable series of historic relics from our Cheshire shore, the writer was enabled, through the coöperation of the owners, and through permission of the Library and Museum Committee, to exhibit side by side the several collections made by Mr. Mayer and himself, with the later ones of Messrs. C. Potter and J. R. Allen. The contents of this temporarily united collection—the garnering of the past twenty years—proved of considerable interest to many of the geologists and antiquaries; and the writer had the pleasure of directing their attention to the peculiar features of the shore, and the respective localities of the outturn of the different classes of the remains, whether Primeval, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon or Mediæval. Very many gentlemen who would gladly have spent an hour or two in the Mayer Collection, never learnt throughout the meeting that only a wall separated them from their morning assembly-room and an agreeable scientific lounge, despite the information conveyed to all upon their arrival. Nevertheless, among the visitors we had the pleasure of welcoming Professors John Phillips, T. H. Huxley, and George Rolleston; Sir Charles Lyell, Sir John Lubbock, Messrs. William Pengelly

and John Evans, Sir Henry Rawlinson, and also several antiquaries and geologists from the Sister Isle, who now made a first acquaintance with the Mayer collection.

Important items both of information and confirmation were obtained from these scientific visitors, and several of the number proved their interest by personally visiting the beach and inspecting the strata, natural and artificial, which have produced such a crop of odd and yet rare remains. Had Messrs. Boult and Potter been present to note the contempt of these *savans* for the theories which the former respectively hold to account for the presence of the numerous trunks of trees in the two arboreal strata, in lieu of the only sensible and all but universally accepted one, they would not soon forget it.

Even had our (British Association) gentlemen-visitors taken *no* interest in our old Cheshire seaport, the exertions made to bring into one comprehensive view all the relics secured would have been amply repaid by the appearance among the associates of two ladies, who claim a lineal descent from the old Lords of its Manor in its best and palmiest days, viz., the 13th century. Well aware of their family springing from "Meols of Meols," they were yet under the impression, through the occurrence of the name of North Meols in several old documents,* that the latter gave name to the house. Inspection of the writer's collection, which includes the 13th century pewter seal of William de Meles, effectually dispelled this idea, although a connexion may at one time have existed between the two. Great Meols is the *original* Meols—North Meols in Lancaster, and Little Meols, Hoylake, being of later growth. The first is yet called by the natives "The Meols." This William does not appear in the pedigree published by Dr. Ormerod,† and quoted in *Ancient Meols*,‡ as it only com-

* One of these mentions an Adam de Mels as holding lands there.
† *Cheshire*, II, 272. ‡ p. 282.

mences, nearly a century later, with a certain John, *temp.* Ed. III, although the author gives as his authorities "the In-"quisitions, P.M.; the Visitation of 1613; Harl. MSS, 2119; "and the information of the family in the three last descents." In the early part of the 13th century we have the first extant record of the Meols family, although it is known to have settled here, under the Earls of Chester, soon after the Conquest, and the installation of Hugh Lupus in this important lieutenancy. By this "Memorial of Requisition in Court," (A.D. 1229-32) it appears that Walter de Meles, Walter his son, *et eorum sequela*, were free men. Dr. Ormerod does not seem to have been aware that in Randle Holme's *Collection of Lancashire Pedigrees*, now in the British Museum and among the Harleian MSS, 1987 $\frac{12}{7}$ c. p. 190, the following descents are given :—

Hugo de Meles =
|
William Fitz Hugo =
|
John de ffarrington, fils. Willi, *temp.* Ed. I.

This important notice, prepared in illustration of the *ffarington* descent, incidentally supplies us with two missing links of the *Meols* family pedigree, and identifies the owner of the seal alluded to. He had been supposed the son of the younger Walter mentioned, but so far as can be judged there was abundant time for an intermediate generation—that of Hugo—making the successive lords of the manor in the 13th century, Walter, Walter ii, Hugo, and William, whose younger son John located himself near Leyland and Farington, in South Lancashire. This John de ffarington, as he was henceforth called, became Lord of Leyland through gifts from Robert de Bussel, apparently as portion of the latter's daughter, Avicia, whom he had married.* Robert Bussel was a grandson of Adam Bussel de Leyland, who founded Pen-

* *Vide* Dr. Kuerden's MSS. in the Coll. of Arms.

wortham Priory, A.D. 1279, and made it over, with considerable grants of land, to the Monastery of Evesham, and was still living in the year 1313, *temp.* Ed. II.

For easy reference, and a clear conception of the descent as above noted, with the succession of the ffarington branch of the Meols family, a pedigree is appended, compiled, from information, by Mr. Hulton, with particulars kindly furnished by Miss ffarington. The main branch of the Meoles family of Meols declined in importance and position, firstly through loss of acreage through the encroachments of the sea, and secondly through adhesion to the cause of the infatuated and despotic Stuarts. The male line became extinct by the death of Thomas Meols of Chester, about two centuries ago, and the wild and dissipated representative of the female one remains, but like the best part of the old Norman manor—*non est inventus.*

The ffaryngtons, on the contrary, flourished in Leyland, and rose to wealth, influence, and national service. A well-executed seal in silver of either the first or second of the Williams of the pedigree, living in the reign of Ed. III, is engraved (fig. 4), the arms being *a chevron gules, between three leopard's heads sable,* and were subsequently borne by the last-named on our list, Sir Henry de ffarington and his father, *quarterly with gules three cinque-foils argent,* as still used by the family.* Sir Henry, a second son, succeeded to the estate, his elder brother having died young. His name, with those of other Royal Commissioners, will be found attached to the inventory of the household stuff of Whalley Abbey at the period of its dissolution, 1537. This curious and interesting MS is now in the Chetham Library in Manchester, and is understood not to have been discovered when Dr. Whitaker was engaged writing his History of Whalley. It is entitled—"The Inventorye of all the goodes belonging

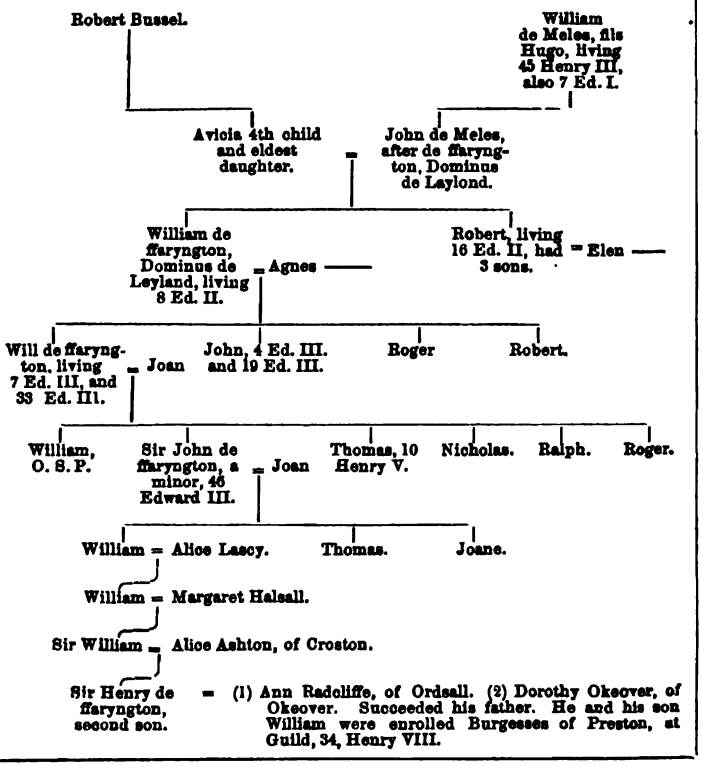
* A very similar seal, but bearing the name of John de ffarington, appears upon some of the earlier deeds.

"to the Monasterie of Whalley, taken by the Erle of Sussex "and others of the King's Counsell, the xxivth day of Marche "in the xxviij yere of the reigne of our Soverigne lorde Kyng "Henry the Eighte."

At the end, the signatures are appended in the following order :—

Robte. Sussex,
Wyllm. Leyland,
Anthony Fitzherberte,
Henry Faryngton.
John Clayden, pst.

BUSSEL, MELES OR MEOLES, AND FFARYNGTON, OF LEYLAND, CO. LANCASTER.



Warin de Bussel, *temp.* Conqueror, or beginning of that of Rufus, confirmed a previous grant to Evesham Abbey of Penwortham, with the Church of Leyland and North Meols. He also gave the township of Farington and lands in Longton, Leyland, Freshlake, and Warton to the same monastery. Warin's grandson, Robert Bussel (son of Geoffrey), had issue, Gulfridus, Warin, William, Avicia, who married John de Meles as above, and Margaret. In virtue of the above-mentioned grants, the Abbots of Evesham became Lords of the Manor of Farington.*

OBJECTS DISCOVERED AT BIRKENHEAD PRIORY.

A mediæval token, or abbey-piece, for it is difficult to determine to which designation it belongs, was found in 1868 upon the river side of the old Priory grounds. What we may term the *obverse* bears the inscription, "Ave Maria Gracia "Plena"; in the field a Bishop's crosier, the staff terminating in a shield, bearing three mitres. *Reverse*, a doubly-voided cross, the centre with four pellets, and each limb terminating in a large fleur-de-lis. Each of its outer angles seems to have contained one or more letters, but only an M and an I are distinctly visible. The arms are those of the Diocese of Chester, which is comparatively of recent creation, viz., 16th of July, 1540. John Bird, D.D.—having been translated hither from Bangor in 1541—was the first Bishop, through favour of Henry VIII. As an early sixteenth century character pertains to the token, it was probably executed by order of Dr. Bird upon the occasion. It is of thin latten, represented (fig. 3) of the actual size, and is in the possession of Mr. H. T. Brown of Renshaw Street.

Some twenty to thirty years ago—the exact date cannot now be obtained, through death of its former possessor—a fine personal seal of the earlier part of the past century, was

* *Documents relating to the Priory of Penwortham*, edited by W. A. Hulton, Esq., for the Chetham Society.

discovered in the Priory grounds, and recently brought under the writer's notice by its present owner, Mr. David Thom Stewart, who has kindly allowed its engraving in connexion with the token. It is an excellent example of the highly ornamental steel work of the period—an art resuscitated with great advantage in the present day—and was made for Robert Clavering, D.D., Bishop of Llandaff, who was translated to Peterborough in 1728, and died in 1748. The seal portion works as usual on a swivel, and possesses three flat facets, each being engraved or chased (figs. 2.) viz. (1) the initials of the prelate, in duplicate cipher reversed; (2) crest, a lion rampant; (3) arms of the See and those of Clavering united, the former being *gules* two keys in saltier between four crosslets fitchée, *or;* and the latter, quarterly, *or* and *gules*, over all a bend *sable*.

A fine wire spring—a kind which has never been improved upon—in the cylindrical portion of the handle, adjusts the facets of the seal at convenience, by pinning the angle opposite to the one selected for use.

The occurrence of these objects at the old Priory is but accidental; that both should be associated with Bishops' Sees is, however, a curious coincidence.

Birkheved Priory, as the old orthography gives it, was founded by the Norman family De Mascie of Dunham Mascie (now Massey) about A.D. 1150, and chiefly through the instrumentality of the third Hamon, who dedicated it to St. James, as Dr. Ormerod and other historians inform us.* Mr. Mortimer, in his *History of the Hundred of Wirral*,† (1847), states that it was dedicated to *St. Mary* and St. James, but mentions no authority for the averment. We find the only known seal of this Benedictine Monastery is inscribed to St. James; Dr. Ormerod thus describes it‡:—

"A rude drawing of the seal of the Abbey is also preserved

* ii, 254. † p. 307. ‡ Appendix iii, p. 447.

" in Harl. MSS, 2074, 232. It is lozenge-formed and repre-
" sents the figure of St. James (the patron saint.) Over his
" head is a Gothic niche, and under his feet a kneeling figure,
" within another niche. The inscription round the seal,
" ' S'COMMVNE PRIORATVS S'C'I JACOBI DE BIRKENHEVED
" ' COM. CEST.' The background fretted and filled up with
" rosettes."

The arms of the Priory were those of the founder mentioned above, viz., Quarterly *gules* and *or;* in the first quarter a lion passant argent,* but surmounted by a crosier in pale, head turned sinisterways *argent*, as engraved by Mr. Ormerod.†

At the end of March in last year a Silver Penny of Edward I was found by a workman within the precincts of the Priory grounds, which had probably been lost anteriorly to the time of the earliest Prior in the published list of Mr. Mortimer, viz., Oliver, who died in 1328, and was succeeded by Robert Millenton. No register or record of the earlier superiors has hitherto been found. The piece is in a fair state of preservation, and is inscribed "Edw. Re. Angl. Dns. Hyb." The head of the King is in the field. *Reverse*, "Civitas Dubline." The penny, with the above information, was communicated by Mr. Fred. A. Tamplin.

Inscription at Eccleston Church.

During the restoration of the Parish Church of St. Mary, Eccleston, near Chorley—an edifice supposed to have been erected during the 12th century—a large beam of dark-coloured oak was found (1868-9) in the loft, bearing in raised characters, varying from 3½ to 5 inches in length, an inscription which ordinary types will not pourtray, and which appears at the head of our plate of miscellaneous objects.

* Sir Peter Leycester; Ormerod I, 398. † *Ibid* III, app. 447.

As difference of opinion exists relative to its rendering, both readings are reproduced, viz.:—

AMIO DM IHSE
(For the love of the Lord Jesus)
ANNO DNI 143e
(Anno Domini 1435)

If, as we are assured by Mr. R. Melling Musker of Walton, the letters of this inscription, which he has kindly supplied, have been accurately copied, difficulties appear in reference to each of the above renderings. In the first, Latinity condemns the presence of an I in the commencing word; in the second case the third letter of the same word is clearly not an N, and it appears a torturing of characters to make the three last into 435. The characters are in the black, or Longobardic form, as often appear upon bells of the mediæval period. The beam now occupies the central position of three as carried across the open roof, and the inscription having been painted *yellow* is quite conspicuous to visitors.

Relics of Old Farnworth.

This neighbouring Lancashire village, in common with others near town, is fast losing its quaint and interesting character, and becoming common-place.

Its ancient Parchment Roll, containing a list of all the copyholders of the township, and said to be of great length, was, until lately, conserved within a metal case; but a degenerate and reckless spirit now prevailing, what should have been everybody's business has become nobody's, and the latest recreant custodian added to his sins by a wilful neglect of this precious topographical memorial. Dr. Kendrick informs us it was last seen in the hands of some young tatterdemalions, who were trailing it through the mire of the village street. Not a scrap of the document is known to exist, but this gentleman, in default of the desiderated roll, has secured its old receptacle, a case of tin, upon which are

faintly pourtrayed the bear and bearward of the village. He likewise possesses the ancient *brank* or *scold's bridle* in iron; it is, however, of still plainer manufacture than the example in the Mayer Collection, which was presented by Dr. Kendrick some years ago. That such instruments continued in use in some places until quite recent times is evident from the unreserved statement of the housekeeper to its late owner, that she *well remembered seeing it worn by her own grandmother!*

A Penitential Scourge for Garston.

In the current quarterly number of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, an uncommonly singular instrument, from our own neighbourhood, is described and figured. It is thus noticed in the *Proceedings* of 11th Jan., 1870:—

"Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited an iron-linked flagellum, "(plate 9), consisting of seven chains, each chain having "seven links connected by stars. It was found in excavating "for a new dock at Garston, Lancashire, ten feet below the "surface, and its weight is seventeen ounces and a half." On the 25th of the same month, the Rev. W. Spencer Simpson exhibited additional examples of this class of objects, obtained in Mexico in 1869. Mr. Syer Cuming followed, with remarks upon these and a short paper upon religious scourges, from which we extract the following short paragraphs in elucidation of the subject:—

"A scourge, either with balls at the ends of the lashes, or "else of knotted cords, is seen among the early representa-"tions of the emblems of the Holy Passion. And a scourge "is the accepted attribute of several saints, as, for instance, "Ambrose, Anthony, Boniface, Dorotheus, Gervase, Guthlac, "and Peter Damian. The scourge of St. Guthlac was greatly "celebrated for the virtue of its flagellations, and forms a "conspicuous feature in the arms of Croyland Abbey.

"Thomas a'Becket not only did penance by wearing a hair "shirt, but occasionally chastised himself with a scourge; and "both shirt and whip of cords were long shewn among the "martyr's relics at Canterbory.

"The flagellum discovered near Liverpool is probably one "of the finest, most perfect and curious examples of its kind "which has escaped destruction, and from its fashion and "fabric I feel assured that it is at least as early as the fif-"teenth century."

The description previously given of the last mentioned example is very meagre, and having had an opportunity of personally examining it, we offer a few additional particulars of a certainly very rare if not unique instrument, which, if correctly assigned to so early a period as the fifteenth century, is, for so corrosive a metal as iron, in extraordinarily good preservation.

It was transmitted by the owner, Mr. G. Sinclair Robertson, of New Brighton, to a friend in London, and, unknown to him, it has been engraved and published as we have seen.

Extended at length, the remains of the instrument—for the whole is evidently not before us—consist, firstly, of five (out of three pair) of circular links connected by oval ones of peculiar form and enlarged heads,—comprising the suspensory portion of the object, to which the main ring is attached, and it is suitably of stouter make. Upon it two smaller ones are appended, one of which contains six chains, the other only one, but in the latter case both the wire of the oval links and the spiked connecting discs are much stronger than those of the six. In other respects the chains of this iron "cat" of seven tails are similar, the plain links being oval, whilst the disks, each with its eight radiating joints, have all been formed double; in several instances one is missing through breakage or other accident. At first sight, the impression is not unnatural, that the scourge is a relic of

that shadowy period of the olden slave-trade; but it seems rather to belong to the earlier one of monkish penance, and may have been in use at one of the neighbouring religious houses—the Abbey of Skirlaw or the Priory of "*Birkehedde.*" It was found near the centre of the east wall of the new Windsor iron-works, now building at Garston, and secured by Mr. J. Wallace Peggs, C.E., who handed it over to Mr. Robertson, in whose collection it now remains.

Of other examples found or preserved in this country, one, of a very cruel nature, is now exhibited in the Goodrich Collection, South Kensington Museum. A number of truncated cones, grooved with sharp edges, and held in opposite directions to produce sufficient oscillation, without enough elevation to hurt the hand of the executioner—form a *whip* of steel, which is supposed to have been held by a strap, and to be of 16th century workmanship. In the museum of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, at Edinburgh, are two early disciplines or instruments of penance, one being a *belt* of iron wire, the other a *scourge* of the same, the lashes of which are covered with sharp points like that mentioned from Mexico. In Holderness, south-east Yorkshire, the boys still use a flagellum or castigating instrument, on the fifth of November, called a *babble*, composed of stout hempen cords, terminating in a bob of leather and waxed thread, the other end being wound round the hand of the operator. This is no doubt a relic of some pagan rite, as the instrument is consigned to the fire when the discipline is consummated.

Notes on Liverpool History.

Early Publications. A century and a quarter ago many books were issued from a printing press in Harrington Street, and some few were published here. The proprietor and probable founder of this establishment was an active and enterprising tradesman named Adam Sadler, the father of

the ingenious inventor of printing upon ceramic productions. His name first appears in this connexion as printer of *Memoirs of the House of Stanley* in 1736, presumed to be the earliest edition of this curious volume, subsequently reprinted by him in 1741, and later by other parties in Manchester and Warrington. The last is the latest production bearing the name of the elder Sadler, according to Mr. A. J. Mott's Catalogue of Liverpool Books;* but his son John seems to have continued the ordinary printing business, in addition to his enamelling and printing on ceramics, as his name appears as printer, as well as publisher and seller, of a very extraordinary octavo work, entitled "*The* "*Muses' Delight;* an accurate collection of English and "Italian Songs, Cantatas, and Duets, set to Music for the "Harpsichord, Violin, German Flute, &c., with Instructions "for the Voice, Violin, Harpsichord or Spinnet, Hautboy," &c. The editing of this unique production, a work of no little labour, Mr. Mott also accredits to John Sadler; it contains, independently of the lengthy "Instructions," a vast assemblage of songs, some two hundred of which are set to music. A copy is now before us, and it is considered to be in exceptionally good and perfect condition. Two years later we find a prefix to the original title of "*Apollo's Cabinet;*" this new edition, according to Mr. Mott, being really "part of "the impression of 1754, divided into *two* volumes, with new "title-page and index, and two leaves pasted together at the "end to hide the old index. Several leaves are also added "at the end of each volume, causing a curious confusion in "the paging of the work; above 200 songs with music, and "426 without."† In 1757 appeared, likewise in 2 vols., *Apollo's Cabinet, or the Ladies' Delight;* songs with music, 218 pages, probably a re-issue of the work of 1754.

* *Transactions*, 1860-1, p. 121.

† Though nominally *two volumes*, examples occur forming but one book.

PRINT BY JOHN SADLER,

UPON A PORCELAIN DRINKING CUP, CIR.—1770.

T.W. RIBY. LITH. L'POOL.

Printing on Porcelain.—An excellent example of John Sadler's best printing upon ceramic produce, and probably executed about 1770, has lately come to light, the object being a drinking cup in porcelain, 3½ inches high, very thickly glazed, and not improbably the work of Messrs. Sadler and Green's works in Harrington Street, although we are not aware of any *record* of their manufacture of porcelain. If not theirs, it may have been issued from the bank of Philip Christian; in any case it is a credit to the town. The printed design, signed at the lower left hand corner "Sadler, Liverp[l]," is thoroughly characteristic of local costumes as well as manners, each individual pourtrayed being differently yet appropriately attired, and yet forming a harmonious whole. To the left a well-to-do merchant of the town is taking his ease in the open air, near the strand. He is seated at a four-legged table, patronising the contents of one of those capacious punch-bowls, the delight as well as the manufacture of the Liverpudlians of the day, but by no means forgetting his pipe. In common with a fisherman who, in professional *petticoat*, stands by his side with folded arms, the burgess regards with evident complaisance his son, or possibly an apprentice (perhaps both) who, arrayed in a jaunty little cocked hat and smart general attire—but protected by an *apron*—is tripping merrily on the sward with a long-boddiced damsel, the dance being promoted by the enlivening strains emitted from his violin by a blind performer, who sits tuning steadily away, with a goodly-sized tankard within reach at the foot of his chair. In the background, the inevitable Mersey and a three-master at anchor serve to localize the scene.

As a capital illustration of "Liverpool life" a century ago, this view, admirably reproduced by Mr. Thos. Riby, has been selected by the writer as the "leader" of a proposed series of pictures of old Liverpool manners, customs and scenes, rare or unpublished, should sufficient patronage promise a recoupment of the necessary outlay.

"*Mersey Bowmen.*"—In an old house in Ormond Street, a set of five coat buttons, from the dress of a member of the association, originally known as the "Liverpool Archers' "Society," but later as the "Mersey Bowmen," was lately found, and from the brightness of their appearance the objects would appear to have but rarely seen a "field day." One of them was presented to me by Mr. J. Harris Gibson, and as will be seen, bears two arrows crossed, with "M" above and "B" below, these letters being in the old English character, and denoting the popular name of the club, which body is wholly unnoticed by Baines either in his "Lancashire" or "Liverpool," or by any other historian of the town, with the exception of the late Mr. Brooke. This gentleman has, however, only been able to glean a few stray notices,* and arranging these in chronological sequence, we find the earliest reference in *Gore's Advertiser.* In 1795, two reports appear in the same publication, the first recording the annual meeting on the second of July, and the latter an account of the usual autumn meeting at the end of September, both in this year.

The archery-ground was situate on the west side of Cazneau Street, then quite in the country. The lodge at its entrance was still standing when Mr. Brooke wrote in 1853. The east front was of brick, but upon a stone inserted over the large central window, a *bow and arrows* and a *hunting-horn* are appropriately carved. Upon either side of the same window—as illustrated by a well-executed steel engraving and enlargement by wood-cut in Mr. Brooke's work—is a stone carved with a device similar to that of the button. The ground was still partially practised upon up to 1766-8, when the association was disbanded. Along with the buttons, a medal and some copper coins of the middle of last century were found.

Early Liverpool Delft-ware.—The very interesting drink-

* *Liverpool*, pp. 268-4, and Additions and Corrections.

ing-cup of "John Williamson, 1645," now in our Society's collection, and engraved last year in the *Transactions*, has received attention on both sides of the Mersey, causing speculations as to the scenes depicted. Mr. Thomas Hughes of Chester has thrown out a suggestion that these may represent *Eastham Ferry*. Unfortunately, no illustrations are extant that we know of, representing any of our local ferries, above a century old, by which we might be assisted in the identification. We have, however, fair ground for the belief that *some one* of our ferries was in the painter's eye. The little craft with its sails does not appear in the least degree out of character for this part of the estuary, whilst the idea is strongly confirmed by the rocky bank and the house placed upon it, apparently for the accommodation of the ferry manager.

Atherton Token of 1668.—Owing to the haste of going to press, and the faintness of the impression of this issue of Peter Atherton, its reverse was erroneously described as bearing a shield in the field; the object is really a *sugar loaf*—a symbol, no doubt, of the owner's business.

DISCOVERIES IN THE MAYER COLLECTION.

The extraordinary assemblage, known by this designation, of objects representative of by-gone art, is wholly unrivalled as the produce of the perseverance and taste of but one gentleman. It has been well described as a mine of archæological wealth, more especially to the student of British history. Prizes, consequently, exist here, ready to reward the patient enquirer and searcher after truth, and as such from time to time are recognised or identified, no apology is needed for the incorporation of the result in our annual story of local effort and research. The first example we propose noting is a diamond of the first water, and should serve to incite all antiquaries not to rest satisfied with the first *appearance* of any *inscribed* article, unless it belongs palpably to a well-

known class or type, especially where the site is undoubtedly historic.

Our collection boasts the finest series of Anglo-Saxon remains extant. Although to a large extent this is composed of the invaluable produce of the Rev. Bryan Faussett's labours in Kent, now just about a century old, it yet contains another collection of no little interest and value, in the hoards of the late William Henry Rolfe, Esq., of Sandwich, which, after his death, passed by purchase into the hands of Mr. Mayer. Though a general antiquarian collector, Mr. Rolfe was evidently chiefly interested in illustrations of our early *national life*, and among his purchases were part of a most remarkable "find" in a grave of the burial-ground attached to the Church of St. Martin, Canterbury—the earliest Christian temple in this country—in the years 1843-4. A Roman building, probably a small temple, previously occupied the site, and was presented by Ethelred, King of East Anglia, to his Queen Bertha and her Frankish bishop Liudhard.*

The discovery consisted of personal ornaments in gold, including—

Two Brooches, set with richly-coloured glass.

A Pendant, set with an antique intagliate cornelian.

Seven coins, looped for suspension to the person, and not improbably forming part of a necklet.

Of these, the numismatic objects prove of the most importance: they comprise, as published,†

1. Aureus of Justin I or II, (A.D. 518-65), *reverse*, "Victoria Augustorum"; weight 22½ grains.
2. Ditto Constantinus, Jun. (?) similar to the current small brass.
3. Ditto Merovingian.
4. Ditto ditto.

* *Collectanea Antiqua*, Vol. I, 178.

† *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. VII, June, 1845, p. 187.—*Coll. Antiqua*, I, pp. 63, 4; pl. xxii, xxiii.

5. Aureus of Merovingian.

6. Piece of Eupardus, Bishop of Autun, *cir.* A.D. 268.

7. Triens; "Eusebii Moneta—Dorovernis Civitas."

The unique coin, No. 6, attributed to France, Mr. Roach Smith thus mentions* :—

"Fig. 3 (plate xxii) is a very remarkable unique coin of a "class hitherto unknown. It is of Eupardus, a Bishop of "Autun, in the sixth century. The inscription, retrograde, is "EVPARDVS EPS, *Eupardus Episcopus;* the imperial diadem "of the lower empire, and the robed bust, a costume copied "from the Roman model. Of this Bishop, no historical "notice beyond that of his name appears to be given, nor is "the precise period when he lived known."

This description, virtually repeated in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, was soon analysed by Mr. Daniel H. Haigh, who at once suspected a wrong appropriation, and the engraved representation of the coin, as also an impression lent him by Mr. Roach Smith, strengthened the conviction that it was more probably of British than Gallic origin—a conviction he thus explains—

Firstly, a certain *peculiarity of workmanship*, which distinguishes the English from the French coins of the period. Secondly, the arrangement of the letters composing the legend, such as it is, upon the reverse.

Our Anglo-Saxon coins, especially the Sceatta series, include types which possess a certain partial duplication of legend. Commencing with a central letter or nucleus of letters, others run to right, and others to the left, the latter being in duplicate. Thus, in a not uncommon type of Sceatta, attributed by Mr. Hawkins to a King of Northumbria, we find from a central M V Λ or M, an extension on either side of H V A T. Such alliteration must be held as intentional, but it has as yet never been noticed, that we

* *Coll. Antiqua*, I.

are aware of, on coins purely French. In the present instance, this duplication appears on the reverse, as immediately above the apex of the cross are two large A's, followed on either side by <NINV, the two similar legends meeting below the base of the cross, here being simply divided by an A. From the excellence of the execution, for the period, this form of lettering cannot be considered meaningless, though Mr. Haigh confesses his inability to interpret them.

This able scholar, however, did not lose sight of the Anglican aspect of this coin; further research, confirmed by an excellent impression transmitted from our collection, has resulted in the interesting discovery which we find described by himself in a recent *brochure*, entitled *Miscellaneous Notes on the Old English Coinage*, communicated to the Numismatic Society of London, 1869.

"The legend on the obverse* I should have had no hesi-
"tation in reading, had I been acquainted, at the time of the
"discovery of this coin, with the monumental palæography
"of France. The first letter is not a cross, as we then read
"it, but L, of a form which occurs on monuments at Mains
"and Ebersheim, and others at Besançon, St. Julient en Quint
"(A.D. 537), and Guillerand, A.D. 600. The second letter
"has been thought to be a badly-formed E, but it is really a
"form of Y, which we observe on a Burgundian brooch,
"found near Maçon, in the name DANⱣEX, *Danyel.*
"(See also *Nouveau Traité de Diplomatique*, vol. II, pl. xxii.)
"The fourth is P, which I regard as a blundered D, and with
"this correction I read the whole LYUDARDUS EPiscopuS.
"Here, then, we have the name of Liudhard, who accompanied
"Queen Bertha to Kent, and officiated as her chaplain in the
"Church of St. Martin, in the cemetery belonging to which
"this coin and its companions were found. In module it is
"intermediate between the triens and the mancus, and I

* See plate No. 7.

"imagine its current value was two-thirds of the latter, or "*twenty pence.*"

Thus a really valuable addition has been made to our national numismatology in a piece belonging to our museum. If highly valued as a supposed unique coin of Bishop Eupardus, how much more is it to be treasured as a unique example of an issue by the very earliest dignitary of the Christian Church in this country. Charibert, Christian King of Paris, having conditioned that his daughter should be allowed to retain her faith, Liudhard, Bishop of Senlis, accompanied the bride-elect of Ethelbert—the third Bretwalda or dominant King of Kent—to Canterbury, some years anteriorly to the arrival of the great missionary St. Augustine.* As Bishop, he seems to have been accorded the great favour of coining money in his own name, a privilege, we believe, only subsequently conferred in England upon the Archbishops of York and Canterbury and the Bishops of Durham. In all probability, therefore, the piece is additionally valuable as the earliest example from an ecclesiastical mint, in this country; in fact Mr. Haigh declares it the earliest episcopal coin known. S. Lyudhard flourished at the end of the sixth and the commencement of the seventh century. The next earliest episcopal pieces are those of Ecgberht, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-66, followed, at the end of this century, by those of the Archbishops of Canterbury and the Popes of Rome, with the Northumbrian Stycas of Eanbald II, tenth Archbishop of York, A.D. 796, and some of his successors.

In our last "annual" we alluded to the early "Delft" ware produced in England, and the common inability of identifying it as the produce of any particular manufactories, save in certain examples from the Liverpool "*banks.*" Among the earliest, attributed with good reason to Bristol, are large round dishes and plates, and one of the latter in our collec-

* *Beda's Ecclesiastical History*, Gilles' Trans., pp. 87–8.

tion seems to have been rudely ornamented in imitation of a design in blue, not unfrequent upon drug pots of London production, viz., foliage and scrolls, and a pendant ornament surmounted by a crown, underneath which appears, in this instance, the inscription—

1
"What is a merreyman?"

Below a male head is painted, and the rim bears the initials of the good couple for whom it was made, and date—$\frac{C}{LS}$, 1614.

Taken by itself the central inscription looks puzzling; but, like many another mystery, it admits of easy solution. Henry Willett, Esq., of Findon Manor, near Worthing, possesses, among other ceramic curiosities, a complete set—not numbering two or three dozens as in these extravagant days—but a moderate, cosy six, of which that in our collection resembled No. 1. We thus are enabled to supply the whole, viz.:—

1
What is a merreyman?
2
Let him do all he can
3
To entertain his guest,
4
With wine and merrey jest;
5
But if his wife do frown,
6
All merreyment goes down.

A dictum to which all our friends, married or single, will no doubt subscribe.

ON RECENT DISCOVERIES AT THE ROMAN SITE AT WILDERSPOOL, NEAR WARRINGTON.

By James Kendrick, M.D.

(Read 23rd March, 1871.)

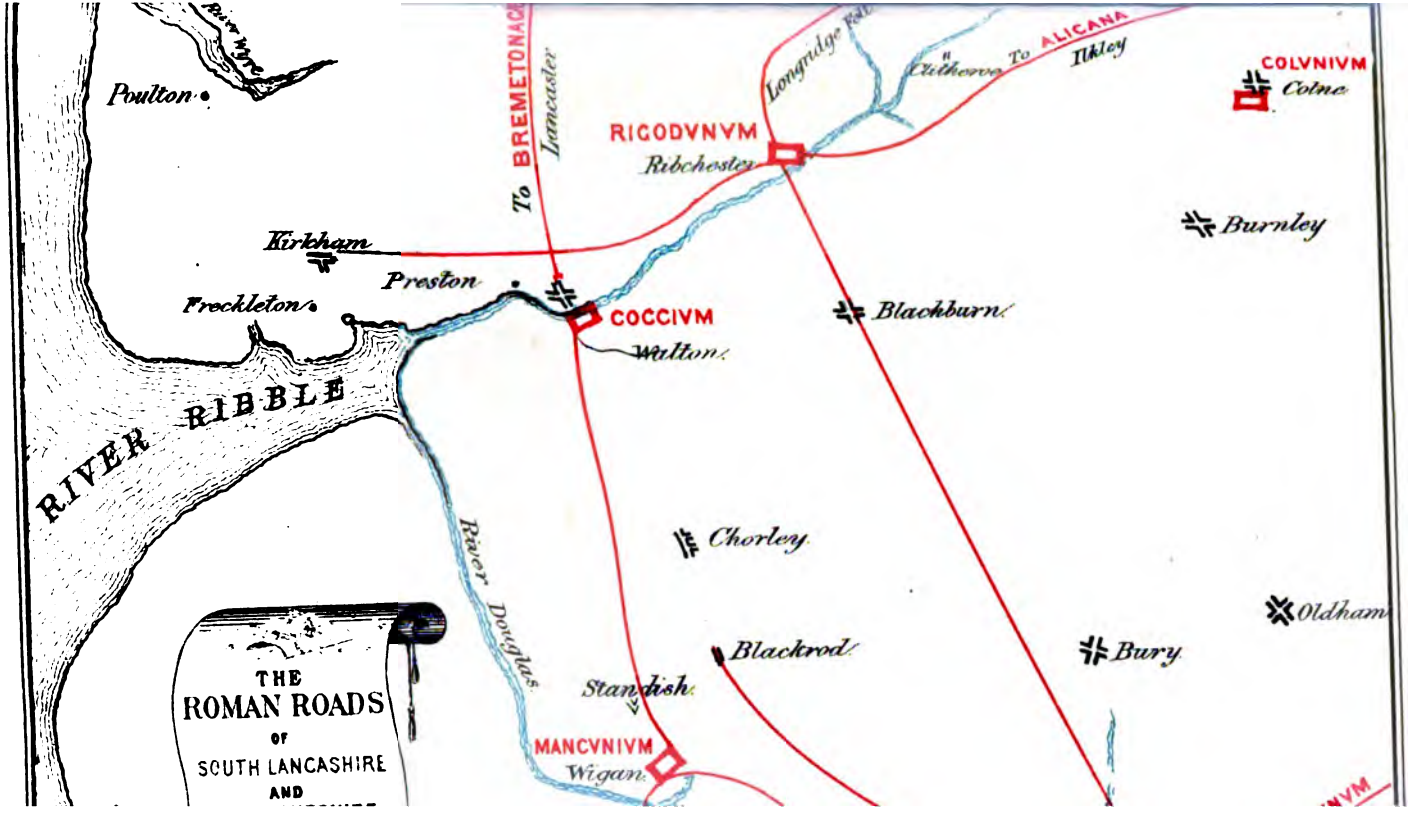
A highly-valued contributor to the early volumes of our Society's Transactions, and one who still takes a lively interest in its proceedings, (my fellow-townsman, Dr. Robson,) a few months ago contributed a paper "*On the Roman Roads* "*and Roman Occupation of North Cheshire,*" to the Chester Archæological Society; and, had his health been spared, would doubtless have favoured us also with his matured opinion upon the second and tenth British *Itinera* of Antonine, a corrected reading of which he first brought before the public in the second* and third† volumes of our own Transactions. The chief purpose of my appearance here this evening is to lay before the Historic Society an account of the later discoveries at the Roman site at Wilderspool, near Warrington; but I feel that Dr. Robson's successful efforts to identify this particular spot with the *Condate* of Antonine render it necessary that I should prelude my remarks by a brief, and, as I feel, inadequate epitome of his communication to the Chester Society. With a little indulgence, however, on the part of my hearers, and by the aid of a small map of the Roman Roads in our neighbourhood, which, under Dr. Robson's guidance, I have been enabled to construct, I hope to shew that those archæological puzzles, the second and tenth *Itinera* of Antonine, are amongst the most clearly defined routes in this undisputed Roman Itinerary of Britain.

* p. 30. † p. 70.

I hope, at the same time, to shew that the *Condate*, which occurs on both these Itinera, *must* have been at Wilderspool, and neither at Congleton, Northwich, nor Middlewich, as by turns supposed; the last-named being, with equal certainty, the still more important station of *Mediolanum*. I say more important than *Condate*, though it has as yet produced fewer Roman remains; but it is supposed that all the *Itinera* began and ended at an important station, and *Mediolanum* was at the southern extremity of the tenth Iter. If we may judge from our discoveries at Wilderspool, a still richer harvest of Roman remains awaits the Cheshire archæologists at Middlewich.

As the second British Iter of Antoninus ran from the east to the west of our island, and the tenth Iter from the north southwards, the Roman station *Condate* occurring on both these routes, it follows that it must have been precisely at their junction and crossing, and Wilderspool, near Warrington, has been clearly shewn by Dr. Robson* to occupy this position. Taking the second Iter (at least that portion of it which runs from York to Chester) for our guide, and following it backwards, (*Deva* being fully identified with Chester,) we find that *Deva* was twenty miles from *Condate*, whilst *Condate* was eighteen miles from *Mamucium*, (Mamcester, now Manchester.) These admeasurements at the present time precisely fix *Condate* at Wilderspool, whilst they in no way correspond with the distances from Chester to Middlewich, and from Middlewich to Manchester, which was the course taken by the second Iter, according to Whitaker, the historian of Manchester, and by many other archæologists. It is true there is another route from Chester to Manchester, with distinct traces of a Roman road throughout, viz., that by the way of Northwich; but if we consider Northwich to be *Condate*, we shall find it to be only five miles from *Medio-*

* *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*, vol. ii, p. 34.


THE
ROMAN ROADS
OF
SOUTH LANCASHIRE
AND
Poulton
Kirkham
Preston
Freckleton
RIVER RIBBLE
To BREMETONACA
Lancaster
RIGODVNVM
Ribchester
Longridge Fell
Clitheroe
To ALICANA
Ilkley
COLVNIVM
Colne
Burnley
COCCIVM
Walton
Blackburn
Chorley
River Douglas
Blackrod
Standish
MANCVNIVM
Wigan
Bury
Oldham

lanum, instead of eighteen miles, as given by Antonine, and the tenth Iter, which ought to touch it, does not come nearer to it than two miles. Moreover, the route through Northwich from Chester to Manchester is four miles in excess of the distance as given in the Roman Iter, and, as remarked by Mr. Hughes of Chester, in the discussion which followed the reading of Dr. Robson's paper, "the difference of four miles "in forty is a very serious one, especially when the other "route by Wilderspool is absolutely correct." Lastly, as remarked by Dr. Robson, the distance from *Deva* to *Condate*, as given in the Iter, was greater than the distance from *Condate* to *Mamucium*; but if we adopt Northwich as *Condate*, the actual distances are completely reversed. Still, many unquestionably Roman remains have been met with at Northwich, amongst which may be named the curious leaden salt-pans found there in 1864, one of which is now in the Warrington museum, and a portion of another, upon which the word "Deva" appears in raised Roman characters, is in my own collection. Both these relics are described and engraved in volume VI, (N.S.) of our Transactions, forming subjects for notice by our zealous friend, Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith, in his "Report on the *Archæology of the Mersey* "*District for the years* 1864-66." As I have ventured to append the name *Salinæ* to Northwich, in the map which I have laid before the Society this evening, you must allow me to quote a few words from a paper by Dr. Robson,* which have been my chief authority for this apparently groundless assumption. "There is only one thing more to notice," he says, "and that is, that in the *Anonymous Ravennas* we have "*Condate* following immediately *Salinæ*. The Romans had "their *Salinæ* at Droitwich, Worcestershire, which is named in "another part of this author; and we may naturally suppose "that the *Salinæ* next *Condate* would be in Cheshire. That

* *Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lanc. and Chesh.*, ii, 38.

"the Romans were acquainted with the brine-springs in "Cheshire, and made use of them, is highly probable; and till "some place, where more numerous and definite remains "turn up, is discovered, it will perhaps be safest to leave the "honour of the Cheshire *Salinæ* to Northwich." Archdeacon Wood, also, in the *Journal of the Chester Society*, urges the claims of Northwich to be the Roman *Salinæ*.

It will not be necessary to dwell so long upon the consideration of the relation of the tenth Iter to Wilderspool, as I have bestowed upon the second; for instead of three suggested routes, there is here only one, and upon more than one-half of that included in my map, the Roman road has been actually traced beyond the possibility of doubt or denial. For this valuable contribution to the early history of the two counties of Lancaster and Chester, we are chiefly indebted to the late Rev. Edmund Sibson, incumbent of Ashton-in-Makerfield; and a detailed account of all we know and have seen of the Roman road of the tenth Iter is given from his pen, in the third vol. of the 4to edition of *Baines' History of Lancashire*, pp. 573 to 587. All that it will be necessary for me here to say is, that if we trace the tenth Iter of Antonine backwards, in like manner as we traced the second, taking Middlewich (*Mediolanum*) as the starting-point, we find, as Antonine describes it, Wilderspool (*Condate*) xviii miles to the north of it, Wigan (*Mancunium*) xviii miles to the north of *Condate*, and Walton, near Preston (*Coccium*) xviii miles to the north of *Mancunium*.* At all these points sufficient Roman remains have been discovered to establish a belief that they are the veritable sites of the above stations, as given in the *Itinera*. For an account of the Roman remains found at Middlewich, I may refer to the contributions of the late

* The difficulty which has hitherto been experienced in reconciling the 2nd and 10th *Itinera* of Antonine, is entirely overcome by Dr. Robson's shewing that the *Mamucium* of the 2nd Iter is not identical with the *Mancunium* of the 10th.

Archdeacon Wood and of Mr. Vawdrey to the volumes of the Chester Archæological Society. I am here this evening to tell of our discoveries at Wilderspool. Mr. Sibson, in the work above referred to, has given us the Roman discoveries at Wigan; and Mr. Hardwick has enriched our own volumes of *Transactions** with notes of researches of similar interest at Walton-le-Dale. Let it be remembered, however, that we have no reason to believe that any of the stations on this Iter, south of Lancaster, were to any extent fortified places; but that, like *Condate*, at Wilderspool, they were merely "*mutationes*" or stations, for the convenience and relays of the imperial posts.

To close this division of my subject, it may be useful to epitomise the whole, by throwing into a tabular form those portions of the second and tenth Iters of Antonine which affect the district of South Lancashire and North Cheshire:—

ITER II.

	Antonine.	Actual Distance.
Camboduno, Slack		
Mamucio, Manchester	M.P. XVIII	
Condate, Wilderspool	,, XVIII	XVIII miles.
Deva, *leg.* XX *victrix*, Chester..	,, XX	XX ,,

ITER X.

	Antonine.	Actual Distance.
Bremetonacæ, Lancaster		
Coccio, Walton-le-Dale	M.P. XX	XXI miles.
Mancunio, Standish, Wigan...	,, XVII	XVI ,,
Condate, Wilderspool	,, XVIII	XV ,,
Mediolano, Middlewich.....	,, XVIII	XVIII ,,

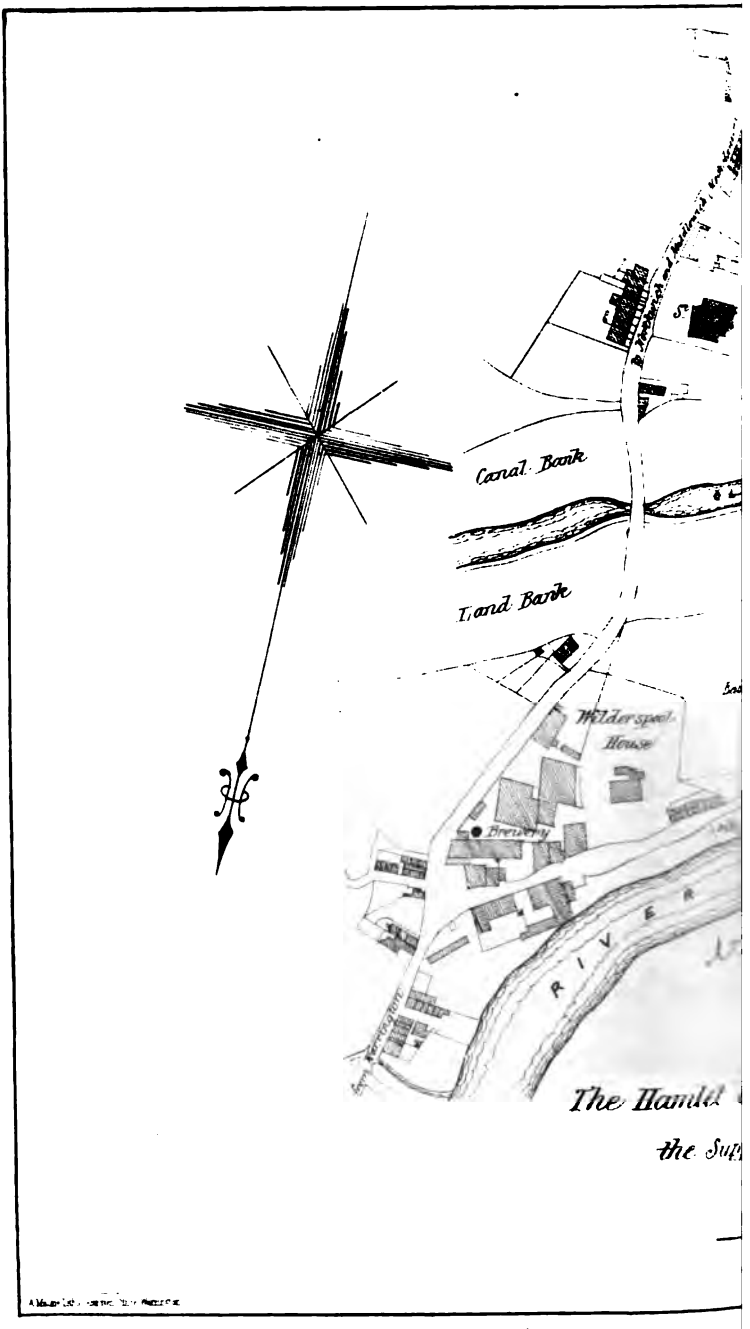
In Gaul there were certainly no fewer than five Roman towns designated *Condate*—(Dr. Smith in his *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* enumerates eight)—and the derivation of the name is considered to imply that each was situated at the confluence of two streams. Now, it so happens, that within forty yards of the point where the Roman remains are found at Wilderspool, we have the opening into the Mersey

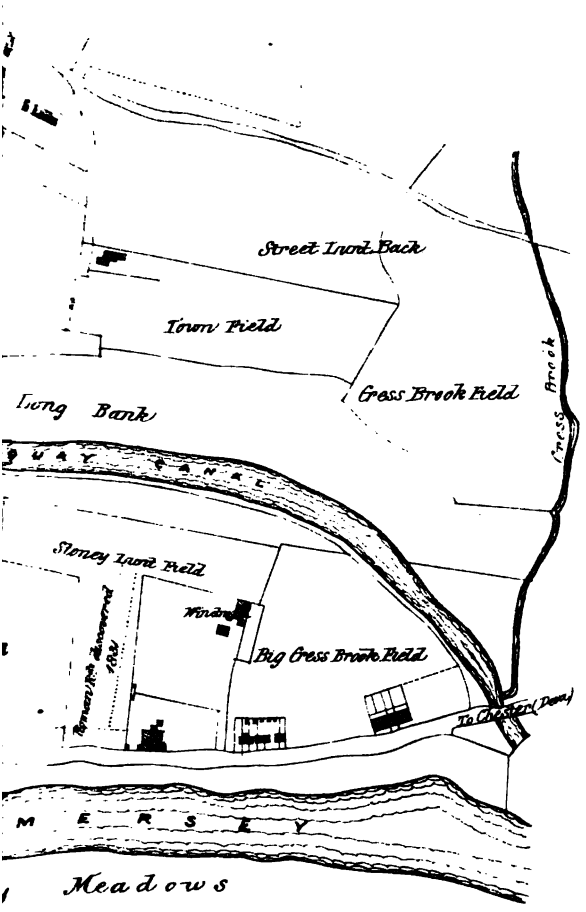
* Vol. viii, p. 127.

of an ancient and, to all appearance, large stream, known as the Wilderspool, whence the name of the hamlet. It is a tidal stream, and runs inland and southwards for upwards of two miles. The first portion of its name is of unknown or unascertained meaning, but there can be no doubt that it derives the latter portion from the same source or circumstance as many other streams opening into the Mersey, *e.g.* Wallasey Pool, Tranmere Pool, Bromboro' Pool, Stanlaw Pool, Pool Mouth, Otters' Pool, and your own Liver Pool. This stream is known as the Wilderspool, in a charter of 1158, and was even then crossed by a bridge, likewise named in the charter, the stone foundations of which were probably laid bare some years ago, and were considered by Dr. Robson to afford grounds for believing them to be of Roman construction.

For a distance of half a mile from its outlet into the Mersey, the Wilderspool, or, as it is now termed, the Wilderspool brook, flows inland through a flat and low district known as "the Ackers." An intelligent farmer, the occupant of the land, told me that this term was applied in Cheshire to a large sheet of water; and I then found, upon referring to the *Promptorium Parvulorum, circa* 1440, as edited by Mr. Albert Way, that as well as "akyr of londe, *Acra*," we had "Akyr of the see flownyge. *Impetus maris*." In a very learned note, Mr. Way says—"This word is still of local use, "to denote the commotion caused in some tidal rivers, at the "flow of the tide." The whole note, like everything else from the pen of Mr. Way, is full of learning and interest, but it is too long to introduce here. I have quoted sufficient to shew that the estuary of the Wilderspool was quite sufficient to justify the name of *Condate* to a Roman station placed at its junction with the Mersey.

The Roman site at Wilderspool, and the Roman roads diverging from it, have already formed the subjects of papers read before this Society, and printed in its very earliest


Canal Bank
Land Bank
Wilderspool House
Brewery
RIVER
The Hamlet
the Sup



PART OF LANCASHIRE

'ILDERSPOOL, near Warrington,
. "Condate" of Antonine.

e 132 Yards in one inch.

Jas. Kendrick, direxit, 1869.

volumes. Our honoured president, Dr. Hume, contributed an account of two very pleasant days, in October and November, 1849, spent in investigating the site and tracing the Roman road southward from thence, by a small party of our Liverpool and Warrington members. This will be found in our second volume; and to the second, third, and fourth volumes Dr. Robson has contributed a series of papers communicating his altered, and certainly amended, reading of the second and tenth *Itinera* of Antonine. But nearly twenty years passed by without adding any fresh materials to the history of *Condate*, or Wilderspool, until, in 1867, the excavation and removal of that portion of the Roman site which lies on the south side of the *Old Quay Canal* was commenced, with the view of procuring the underlying sand for the purposes of building and manufactures. This excavation is still going on; and few sights are more interesting to the archæologist than the clear and characteristic sections of the ground which are frequently laid bare in the level and deep sides of the sandpit. As yet we have met with no vestiges of Roman buildings, nor even of walls, and therefore this ruthless destruction of the site is unattended with those feelings of reprobation and regret which would attend a similar removal of the Roman remains at Woodchester, Silchester, Housesteads, or Wroxeter. The stone walls of a circular Roman well, found at Wilderspool, have been built up again for preservation on a piece of ground attached to my own residence, where some few cart-loads of Roman pottery are also heaped, for I have made pecuniary arrangements with the labourers at the sandpit to secure my receiving every fragment of Roman remains, be it ever so small, and I have reason to believe that nothing is hitherto lost.

The extent of ground at Wilderspool over which Roman remains have hitherto, from time to time, been found, may be estimated at thirty-six statute acres. As will be seen by the

adjoining map, it occupies the south bank of the Mersey, at a loop or bend which that river forms about a quarter of a mile on the south side of the town of Warrington. I have not been able to discover any plan of the locality prior to the cutting of the Old Quay Canal through it in 1801-3, but it appears to me not unlikely that the "Town Field," shewn on the map, may have extended northwards to the river bank, forming a parallelogram of about sixteen acres, which would comprise that portion of this Roman site which has yielded most remains. Since we have no reason to believe *Condate* anything more than a post-station, without walls, it would probably comprise the whole of what we may consider the Roman station, properly so called. The adjoining fields, named respectively Stoney Lunt or Land, and Street Lunt, are also additional vestiges of former Roman occupation. Within a few hundred yards we have also Stoney Street, leading through Statham, Lymm, Altrincham, and Stretford to Manchester; and many pastures to the west of the Roman site are known by the designation of "Whitefields," which, according to the Rev. Edmund Sibson,* is always characteristic of a Roman site, in common with Burgh, Bury, Castle, Wall, &c.

Roman remains were found at Wilderspool in 1787, when a house was erected here by the late Edward Greenall, Esq., and again in 1801-3, when the Old Quay Canal was carried through the site of the Roman station. Upon this occasion the soil and sand excavated were heaped upon the right and left banks of the canal, and are now found to yield a fair quantity of Roman remains; but, in our present researches, we have not yet reached the point which is said to have been the most prolific, and even to have yielded bases, shafts, and capitals of architectural columns. From present observation it would appear that, prior to the cutting of the canal, the surface

* *Baines' History of Lancashire*, 4to, vol. iii, p. 574.

of the ground had never been much disturbed since its occupation by the Romans. Here we find the implements of iron, bronze, and glass, which form a very interesting portion of our museum collection, whilst the many fragments of pottery which are turned up are mostly found at the bottom of deep ditches or drains, which have traversed the station in different directions. These drains have evidently been the receptacles of rubbish of every kind, and the black mud which lies at the bottom has very often an undeniably stercoraceous odour. Hence they have no doubt been the ordinary rubbish middens of the Roman station.

Roman interments are often met with at Wilderspool. They consist of urns, of different descriptions of pottery, containing burnt human bones, with fragments of wood-charcoal, and now and then a small coin. A few have been recovered entire, but the majority have been broken by the unavoidable strokes of the pick-axe or spade.

The Roman road from *Condate* southwards to *Mediolanum* (Middlewich) appears to have passed through the station longitudinally, and the excavations now going on are probably only a few yards distant from the eastern edge of the road. In 1849, the construction of the road was so carefully examined, and is so fully described by Dr. Hume and Dr. Robson, in the second volume of our *Transactions*, that it is unnecessary to treat of it here—the more so, as a few weeks may lay it bare in its entirety, and afford material for a special notice hereafter.

The extraordinary quantity of Roman earthenware found at Wilderspool, with the local character assigned to it by Mr. C. Roach Smith and Mr. Chaffers, have led us to believe that here, at the eastern side of the station proper, was a Roman pottery. On the level of the original surface of the ground, now clearly defined in the upright sides of the sand-pit, large quantities of tempered but unbaked clay, collected

in shallow pits, are found, of a nature analogous to the clay still used for the manufacture of draining-tiles on the waste land known as "the Ackers," through which we have seen that the Wilderspool brook flows.* Several large pits of ancient date still exist on "the Ackers," one of them at the present day forming a mill-dam, and the name of "Claypit Nook" has long been given to some adjoining property. The proximity of so large a bed of suitable clay may have first led to the establishment of a pottery by the Romans at *Condate*, whilst the carriage of the material, either by land or by the course of the Wilderspool, would in neither case exceed the distance of a quarter of a mile. We have no late discovery of kilns on the site, but in 1801, many "fire-places with "ashes in them," were found in cutting the canal, and these may perhaps have been originally potters' kilns. Fragments of iron spades, mattocks, knives, and probably other tools required by potters, are often found here, and the immense number of broken *mortaria* discovered is, in my opinion, also

* I make the above statement on the strength of the following comparative analyses, which have been kindly furnished by my young friend, Dr. A. E. Davies, of Warrington and Manchester:—

"ANALYSES OF THE CLAYS FOUND ON 'THE ACKERS,' AND AT THE ROMAN SITE AT WILDERSPOOL:—

	No. I. THE ACKERS.	No. II. WILDERSPOOL.
Alumina	40·68	40·62
Silica	56·14	55·78
Peroxide of Iron	2·43	2·15
Lime	0·75	0·88
Magnesia, Soda, Phosphoric Acid, Carbonic Acid, Sulphuric Acid, Chlorine	Traces.	Traces.
Loss in Analysis	0·60	0·57
	100·00	100·00

"The above analyses were made after the clays had been thoroughly dried; and the two samples are identical in composition.

"ARTHUR E. DAVIES."

corroborative evidence. They are found in like abundance at Upchurch and Castor, whilst they are few, or entirely wanting, on the sites of Roman villas. To this circumstance it is my intention to revert hereafter.

In my notice of the Roman remains found at Wilderspool I shall first bring forward the *pottery*, since it is found in quantity and variety far exceeding the other relics; and I cannot do better than follow the ordinary classification of Roman pottery, as common or *red ware*, including the brown; *black ware*, including the grey; *white;* and lastly, the *Samian ware*, both true and fictitious.

I. In point of quantity the common *red, and brown Roman earthenware* exceeds the other varieties found at Wilderspool, but it is almost invariably in a fragmentary state, and appears to be the refuse of the pottery, probably the result of accidental breakage in the process of manufacture, since the pieces, except those of *mortaria*, bear no stain or mark of former domestic use. We find many broken tiles for roofs, floors, wall-flues, and for small drains, but a still larger number of the fragments are of a finer material, being portions of urns or vases, *amphoræ*, bottles, and circular dishes or *pateræ*. They have invariably been "thrown" or formed upon the wheel, and the exterior of many has been very tastefully ornamented by the process known as *engine-turning*. One of these is so elaborate as to surpass anything of the kind which I have hitherto seen delineated. To this description of ornamentation the name of "engine-turned" has been given by Mr. Artis and Mr. C. R. Smith, when it was first noticed by them at Castor, in Northamptonshire, the *Durobrivis* of Antonine.*

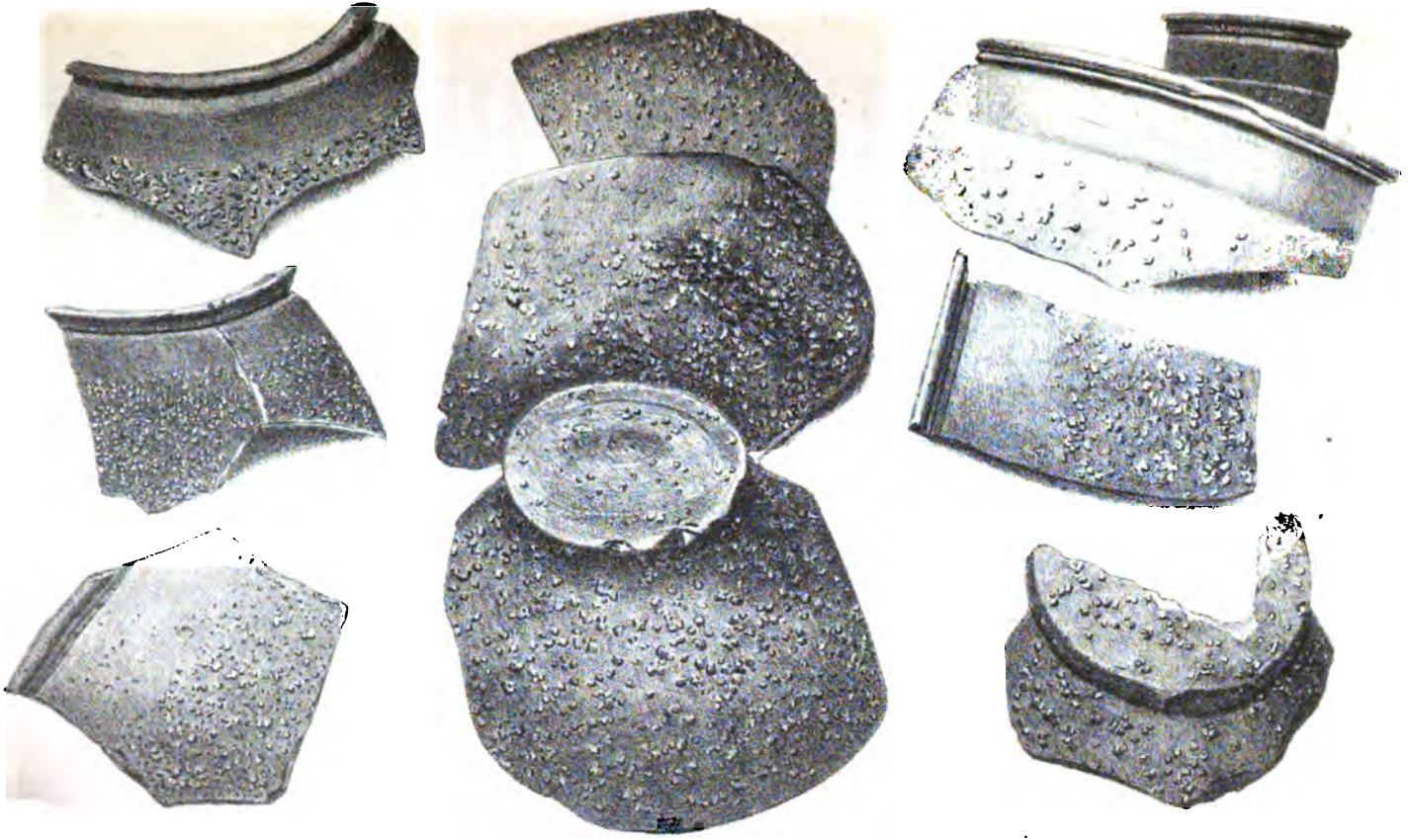
There is another very distinct variety of Roman pottery, which, though it has no doubt often been met with elsewhere, has never been thought worthy of a distinct notice or appel-

* *Jour. Brit. Archæol. Assoc.*, vol. i, p. 5.

lation. At Wilderspool it is found in comparative abundance, and is deserving of a short description. The paste or body of the vessel, whilst in the soft state, and whilst still upon the potter's wheel, was more or less thickly sprinkled with dry powdered clay, so as to roughen its surface. The roughness was then removed at the upper part of the vessel, and often in horizontal bands or stripes likewise, and the lip or rim was very delicately finished, after which the whole vessel appears to have been dipped in a thin "slip" or clay-wash, to fix the roughness permanently. This processis so similar to that called "rough-casting," when applied to rustic edifices, that I venture to propose the distinctive name of "rough-cast ware" to these singular productions of the Romano-British potters. Fragments of this ware are well represented in the accompanying plate.

I have several specimens of the common red Roman ware found at Wilderspool, which it would have afforded me much pleasure to have brought here for exhibition, but their extreme brittleness, from long burial, rendered it hazardous to do so. Perhaps the most interesting of these are two *tetinæ*, or infants' feeding-bottles, which were found together in an apparent interment, in the month of August, 1869. Such *tetinæ* have been found in France, and have been figured by l'Abbe Cochet in his *Normandie Souterraine*, but I believe these to be the first discovered in Britain.

On the 20th of the last month (February, 1871), two curious little cups or vases, joined together by a connecting band, or perhaps hollow pipe, were found at Wilderspool, and my friend, Mr. Jewitt, tells me, as is very evident, that there has been a third cup similarly attached. He has one or two specimens from Roman sites in his own collection, but they appear to have been undescribed hitherto. Probably a "Jolly-Boys," of which Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith has favoured me with a sketch, is the modern representative.



ROMAN *"ROUGH-CAST"* POTTERY.

Amongst the other remains of Roman pottery we have found many *circular discs*, often formed out of the bases of urns or vases, but evidently brought to this circular form by rubbing or filing, and not by any accidental means. Some of them are made out of fragments of the black or grey ware, to be spoken of presently, and some are even made from the rarer Samian ware. I sent a number of them to my friend, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, for exhibition at the British Archæological Association, on this very evening twelve months ago, and he accompanied their exhibition by an amusing paper on the ancient game of "Hop-Scotch," for which he believes they were intended. Mr. Thomas Wright, however, thought them *quoits* for pitching, and Mr. Grove considered that they were for some game resembling *draughts*. In my opinion, however, some of these *discs* are too large and others too small for any of these purposes, but their exhibition in London led to the production of others found on Roman sites at Chesterford, by the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, and at Stonham, Suffolk, by Mr. Watling.

There is yet one other variety of the common red Roman pottery found at Wilderspool, which I suspect is new to archæologists, since Mr. Chaffers tells me that it is new to him, and doubtless of local origin. Mr. C. Roach Smith, too, thinks it an abortive attempt to imitate the true Samian; but I think it possesses a character of its own, which removes it from the accusation of an attempted forgery. It occurs chiefly, but not entirely, in the shape of *pateræ* or dishes, and the peculiar form of the sides and lip, whilst they are of themselves elegant and graceful, do not, so far as I know, at all approximate to any vessels of Samian manufacture. The paste or body of which these specimens is formed is fine and compact, but not highly baked, and the finely polished surface is covered with streaks of a reddish-brown paint or colour, which is somewhat evanescent on exposure to light

and air. I consider it to possess a distinctive character, hitherto unnoticed, and as such to be not unworthy of a special name, though I myself have none to suggest.

II. We find at Wilderspool a large quantity of the *black* and *grey* Roman pottery, very like but not identical with that described by Mr. Artis and Mr. C. Roach Smith, as found at Upchurch in Kent, and hence commonly known as "Upchurch "ware." The mode of manufacture of each appears to have been the same; but whilst in the Upchurch specimens the ornamental pattern was formed by small raised dots, or by punctures, those found at Wilderspool exhibit nothing more than fine lines in the form of chevrons, lozenges, or spirals, drawn upon the soft surface with a slender point of iron, bone, or wood. Although it is difficult to account for, yet these linear ornaments are generally found not only on the sides of the vessels but on the bottom also, where of course they could be rarely seen.

From experiments made by my young friend, Dr. Arthur E. Davies, and by myself, we are led to believe that the mode of manufacture of this *black* or *grey* ware, as explained by Mr. Artis, is pretty certainly the correct one, namely, that the unbaked vessels were placed in a kiln with a quantity of vegetable matter, the smoke of which was deposited upon the vessels, (penetrating to a slight depth from the surface,) by closing the flues of the kilns, which have hence been named "smother-kilns." Mr. Artis, in his exploration of the Roman potters' kilns at Sibson, found that each tier of vessels was separated from the one below by a stratum of vegetable matter, apparently grass or sedge, a precaution which is probably explained by a fact observed by Dr. Arthur E. Davies, that the simple vaporized carbon or smoke was not sufficient to stain or coat the vessels in the kiln, but that actual contact between them and the vegetable matter was requisite to produce the effect described. No analogous process is

carried on by our potters of the present day, but the superior durability of the black ware over the other varieties of Roman pottery, as shewn at Wilderspool, leads me to think that some such plan of coating earthenware with carbon might with advantage be employed by ourselves, in the case of copings, cornices, and the edgings for flower borders, where the bricks or tiles are subjected to great alternations of dryness and moisture, heat and cold. Large quantities of this *black* Roman ware are found at Wilderspool, and, unlike the common red ware, it is apparently as tough and sound as when it was buried from sight at least fourteen centuries ago.

III. We find at Wilderspool fewer specimens of the *white* than of any other variety of Roman pottery, and we meet with it as the material for large and small *amphoræ*, and especially for the utensils denominated *mortaria*. It has been found that large numbers of broken *mortaria* are exhumed on the sites of well-known Roman potteries; for example, by Mr. Artis at Castor, and Mr. Jewitt at Headington. At Wilderspool they occur in extraordinary numbers, probably imported from Staffordshire, and some of them, of large size, are covered on the inside with a crust of unbaked clay. Hence I am led to believe, that not only were *mortaria* used for the purposes of the kitchen in the preparation of gruels and salads, as generally supposed, but for the levigation or "blunging" of clay for the manufacture of the finer kinds of Roman pottery. For this purpose, the extremely shallow, but wide spout is especially adapted, since the superabundant fluid, with the finer portion of the clay, floats off to settle, without disturbing the grosser particles below. In the sixth vol. of the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, page 59, Mr. Jewitt has given a plate of sections of the rims of some of the *mortaria* found at the Roman pottery at Headington, with sections of others from London, Caerleon,

Castor, Keston, and Hartlip, for the purpose of a curious and useful comparison. Each has a very distinctive form of rim, and those found at Wilderspool have a contour differing from all these, and from each other, thus rendering it easy to ascertain the precise number of *mortaria* found. During the three months preceding October, 1869, I sketched the rims of ninety-three distinct examples found here; and as there is no falling off in their numbers, they may be counted in hundreds, did it serve any useful purpose. For some weeks past, and not previously, we have found the *mortaria* furnished with nicely-balanced handles, a peculiarity which I have never seen noticed before.

IV. There are few forms of the beautiful Roman pottery, known as *Samian ware*, which have not their representatives at Wilderspool, though, unfortunately, almost always in a mutilated state. We find an immense quantity of fragments of vases, bowls, cups, dishes, and the so-called salt-cellars—(in the three months preceding October, 1869, no fewer than 233 fragments of distinct vessels were found)—and the number then began to be too great to record special note of. Unfortunately, they are almost always of that inferior kind of Samian ware which antiquaries have designated *fictitious*, since it appears to be in most cases a poor native imitation of the *true* or foreign variety. The coral redness of the exterior does not penetrate below the surface, but easily scales off, and betrays a very porous and fragile texture below. It has neither the compactness nor the clear ring of the *true* Samian, and, unlike this, it has so far perished by its long inhumation, that it is difficult to effect any safe restoration of its fragments with cement. Fragments often occur which have been pierced by leaden rivets in the Roman times, a circumstance which would seem to militate against any idea of its having been manufactured here, and yet there is nothing in its quality or finish which would call for the skill of a more

than ordinary workman. Indeed, the pattern is often found so blurred and disfigured whilst in the soft or unbaked state, that quantity of production, rather than quality, would seem to have been the aim of the careless potter who made them. As usual, upon the embossed pieces we find figures of animals, hunting-scenes, scrolls, pilasters, fruit, and flowers, the devices most frequently represented; but there are also figures of the more popular heathen deities, especially Hercules, Venus, and the Lycian Apollo.

Many of the specimens of this common Samian ware exhibit an unornamental blotch on the ground of the pattern, and as I have only once met with the same contrivance "to "fill up waste canvas," elsewhere, it may perhaps afford some slight ground to suppose that it had really been manufactured at Wilderspool. The instance to which I allude is a small fragment of Samian ware in the Cirencester museum, represented in Professor Buckman's *Roman Art in Ancien. Corinium*, page 91.

The following, with the exception of a few which are illegible, is a list of the Roman *Potters' marks* found at Wilderspool:—

On Samian Ware.

ALBINI.M.	COCILLI.	FVSCI.	SACRAPO.F.
ANAILLI.M.	COCVRO.F.	OF.L.C.VIRIL(*bis*)	O.SORINI.
ATTICI.M.	CREM....	NICANII.	TITILLVS·FE.
CELSI.M.	DEC.....	PAVLLI.	TITVRI.M.
CINNAMI(*ter*).	DONATI.M.	PRI.....	O.TEBB....
CIV.....	FELIC....	REGINI.M.	VETERI·M.
CLA.....	OF.FLAVI.GER.	SEVERI.M.	VORANO.

On Amphoræ.

A.P.M.	C.S.I.	L.A.L.	R.AMZ.

On Mortaria.

A.R.B.	BRO.	HF.C.S.	VRILIM.
D.I.I.O.	DOCILIS.	ICO.	

Fragments of the *Durobrivian* ware, from the Roman kilns at Castor in Northamptonshire, are so rare at Wilderspool, that I should not have named them here, had it not been for a portion of a *wine-strainer* of this material, which was found a few months ago. An inch below the rim, and on the inside of the body of the vessel, the remains of a grating or perforated diaphragm are seen, and upon this grating my friend, Mr. H. Syer Cuming, informs me, the Romans were in the practice of placing a layer of snow, through which the wine was poured into the drinking-cups, acquiring in its passage a delicious coolness for the palate. Mr. Thomas Wright also speaks of wine-strainers *(cola nivaria)* used in a similar way, but his examples were of bronze.

I have dwelt so long on the single subject of the Roman pottery found at Wilderspool, that I shall have to dismiss other relics of equal interest with a very cursory notice. Fortunately, I have been able to bring many of the objects themselves for your inspection this evening, rendering a detailed description unnecessary; but there is one branch of Roman art-manufacture upon which I must say a few words. I allude to objects in *glass*, of which we find mutilated but interesting specimens in the Roman rubbish-drains at Wilderspool. It is supposed that the main seat of the Romano-British manufacture of glass was on the coast at Brighton, from whence it was sent into the provinces in shapeless masses, to be converted into the required forms by provincial artizans. Some of the fragments found at Wilderspool are of bottles, urns, or jars, evidently of large size, but so broken as to afford no certain idea of the original form. There are portions of others of smaller size, and of more brilliant colour, but none of them are entire. There are glass beads, also, of different colours, but the most curious specimens in this material are portions of two rings of white and green glass, probably bracelets, by which I set great store. All

the specimens exhibit, when closely examined, the distinctive character of Roman glass, namely, the prevalence throughout its substance of minute air-bubbles, from the deficient dryness of the crude materials, or from too brief fusion in the crucible.

Of Roman articles in *bronze*, I can only produce, as found at Wilderspool, several *fibulæ*, both bow-shaped and pen-annular, and a few hair-pins. There are also, now and then, fragments of thin plates of bronze found, but in such a broken condition that I am unable to state the instruments of which they formed a part. One or two pieces of apparently fused bronze have been found on the Roman surface. Bronze coins are not unfrequent, ranging from Vespasian to Hadrian, a period of not much more than half a century. Some of the coins, however, are so illegible that they may be of earlier, and others of later date. It is possible that, as we approach nearer to the centre of the Roman station, we may find the coins more plentiful.

Of objects in *iron* we have very many specimens, the most curious of which is perhaps a Roman *brand-iron* or *fire-dog*, exhibited to this Society several years ago. As I have already said, many of the objects in iron found here appear to have relation to the digging of clay, and to its manipulation into pottery. A few good examples of the Roman key have been found; and iron fastenings of doors, staples, hooks, and similar articles are very plentiful. Of nails, many of them of large size, there is a very great quantity. In the majority of these iron relics it may be remarked, that whilst their entire surface is corroded by rust, one side is more especially blistered by heat before the corrosion took place, indicating, as I think, that a raging conflagration has at one time passed over them. That such a disaster has really occurred here is also shewn by the calcined appearance of the line of original Roman surface, and of the sand immediately below it; but of

the date of its occurrence we are wholly uncertain. The coins, as we have seen, range only from Vespasian to Hadrian, and yet *Condate* is twice mentioned in the Itinerary of Antonine, the date of which is usually placed two centuries later. I feel my inability to afford any explanation of such a discrepancy, and therefore leave the point as I found it, merely hoping that I have succeeded in laying before the Historic Society, *An Account of the Recent Discoveries at Wilderspool,* and hoping that the little *Map of the Roman Roads in South Lancashire and North Cheshire* may be of some use to future local archæologists.

INVENTORIES OF CHURCH GOODS AND CHANTRIES IN CHESHIRE,

TEMP. EDWARD VI.

By the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., Præcentor and Prebendary of Chichester.

(READ JANUARY 27TH, 1870.)

THE following extracts are made from documents in the Public Record Office, and contain some information not hitherto generally known. They show how scantily the churches were left, with the barest necessaries for Divine service; the conversion of the old vestments into use in the reformed church; and, in a few instances, the number of the communicants or houselling people within certain parishes:—

THE CATHEDRAL OF CHRIST AND ST. MARY. *Inventory of all the goods, chalics, and bells delyvered unto the Dean and Chapter, the 27 day of May, anno Regis Edw. vi, by the Kyng's comissioners, there by theym to be saef and faerly kept without imbecilment or alienacon, untill the king's majesties farther plesure be therein knowen.*

ij chalyses of sylver gylt, with pattents to the same, ponderantes xxxvij ounces.
iiij diaper table clothes.
ij long diaper towells.
a pillo made of an olde tunnycle for the Comuneon Table.
a carpet for the Deans stalle.
a coveryng of Dornyx sy... the pulpet.
a covering for the Comuneon, the oon side of crymsyn velvet the [other] side of grene satten and whit p... and in the meddes a pane of an olde vestment of dornix.
iij carpet queysshens for the Quere.
a payre of organs.
iij bells in the steple by the quere and a clok.

ij great bells in the new steple.
j vele hangyng on the wall where the ... was.
... the boks now used in the church.
... cofers or chest.

per me Willm. Cliff decanum, per me Will. Walls, per me Nicolaum Bucksey, per me Johannem Lepington.

S. Oswald's. *Inventory of goods delivered to the Churchwardens.*

a chalice with a patent of silvar, ponderans xvi ouncs.
a charpet for the comunion table.
ij bells in the steeple being now altered into oon.
j other chalice with a patent of silver, ponderans xxij oncs
ij cofers or chests.

S. John's Without, Chester. *Inventory of goods delivered to the Churchwardens.*

j chalyce of silver with a patent gilt, ponderans vij ouncs and di.
ij chestes.
iij bells with the steple with a clocke.
a boulter of dun velvet.
ij coysshens.
iij table clothes and a surples.
a whyte damaske cope altered into a table cover.
a payre of organs.
a coveryng of old sylke.
all the boks now used in the church.

In the college of Santions above sayd remanyth iij great bells to the K^re^ and Quens ma^te^ usse, over and above besydyth that which is sold, and also a great quantyte of lead upon that part of the churche, it was gyven to the Kynge Edward and successors, L. R.

S. Mary-at-Hill. *Inventory of goods delivered to the Churchwardens.*

a chalyce with a patent of sylver, ponderans x oncs.
ij cofers.
iij table clothes.
a payre of organs.
a hanging for the table of lynnen.
a pillo of silke.
v greate bells in the steple and a anthem bell and a clok.
iiij towells.
a surples.
all the bokes in the churche nowe used.

HOLY TRINITY. *Inventory of goods delivered to the Churchwardens, May* 28.

a chalyce with a paten for the same of sylver, ponderans xv oncs iij quarters.

vj lynnen towells.
ij table clothes.
ij surpleses.
iiij^{or} bells and oon anthem bell.
ij coffers.
all the boks now used in the church.

S. PETER'S. *Inventory of goods delivered to the Churchwardens, May* 28.

a chalyse of sylver with a patent for the same over ytt, ponderans x oncs.
iiij^{or} bells in the steple and oon anthem bell. [A local name for the Sanctus Bell.]
ij chests.
a payre of organs.
j tabull clothe of lynnen and a coveryng of green and yalo satten.
ij surplesses.
all the boks now used in the church.

S. BRIGETT. *Same date.*

oon chalyse of sylver with patent gilde, waying xij oncs and a quarter.
a pello of grene saersnet.
ij cofers or chests.
a chene of yron over the font. [To hold the font cover.]
iij table clothes.
iij bells in the steple and oon anthem bell.
ij surplesses.
iiij towells.
and all the boks now used the churche.

S. MICHAEL. *Same date.*

j chalyse with a paten for the same over gylt, ponderans xviij oncs.
ij vestments of grene and red satten nowe altered in to a carpet for the Comuneon table.
a red cope to make a carpet for the pulpet
ij albes
iiij towells.
iij bells in the steple.
all the boks nowe used in the churche.
ij chests or cofers.

S. Martin. 28 *May.*

a chalyce of sylver with a patent for the same, parcell gilt, ponderans xiij oncs.
ij bells in the steple.
ij tabull clothes.
ij olde pilloes.
ij surpleses.

S. Olaves.

a chalice with a patent of silver, ponderans vj oncs.
ij bells in the steple.
ij cofers.
ij towells.
all the boks in the Churche nowe used.

The Spittell of Boghton.* *Goods delivered to Rauf Thornston, Master.*

a chalyce with a paten of sylver, ponderans iiij oncs
ij tabull clothes
ij small bells hanging in the church.
The comunyon boke nowe used.

Hospitall of St. John without the northgate.† *Goods delivered to John Levesey, Chaplen.*

A chalice with a patent for the same of sylver, parcell gilt, ponderans x oncs.
j bell in the steple.
iiij table clothes.
All the boks now used in the church.

CHURCH ORNAMENTS.

May 23, 7 Edw. vi.

Parcelles of clothe of gold and tyssho by the said Comissiones receaved and now delyvered unto Arthure Stoerton, Esqwuyer, master of the Kings highnes Wardrop by indenture unto the Kings Maiesties use.

a cope a vestment and two tuny[cles of clothe] of golde.
iij copes a vestment and ij tunycles of grene velvet [tys]sho.
a cope of purple tyssho.
a cope of red velvet tyssho.

* St. Giles' Hospital, for lazars, Foregate Street, founded by Earl Randal Blundeville, destroyed in the civil wars.

† Little St. John's, a hospital founded by Earl Randal for a master, 3 chaplains, and 13 poor pensioners, destroyed in the civil wars, and rebuilt by Col. Roger Whitley.

The chalics by the said Comyssyoners retained and now delyvered by the said Comyssyoners by indenture unto the Master of the Kings gracs fuel house unto his highnes use.

iij chalyces with patens for the same.

a crysmatory of silv[er.....] in the same, ponderans in toto iij oncs.

Ecclesia Cathedralis Christi et B.M. The goodes, copes, vestments and other ornaments of the same Cathedral Church, except before excepted, were sold by the said Comyssyoners apon the apprecement thereof for v*Li.* xj*s.* iii*d.*

Parochia	S. Oswaldi ibidem .....for	iiij*li.* iij*s.* ij*d.*
,,	S. Marie super montem.....for	x*li.* xiij*s.* vj*d.*
,,	S. Johannis.....for	xj*s.* ij*d.*
,,	S. Trinitatis .....for	vj*li.* ix*s.*
,,	S. Petri .....for	xxiiij*s.*
,,	S$^{cta.}$ Bridgittæ .....for	xiij*s.* iiij*d.*
,,	S$^{ct.}$ Michælis .....for	xv*s.* ix*d.*
,,	S$^{ct.}$ Martini (gyven to the pore as of so small valewe)	*nihil.*
,,	S$^{ct.}$ Olavei (distributed unto the pore)	*nihil.*
Hospitall of Saynt John and Spytel of Boghton (distributed unto the pore)		*nihil.*

Totall somme of the ornaments, etc. solde...xxx*li.* xiij*d.*

There was a greate bell in the Cathedrall churche whiche hanged in the new Steple there, which was taken doune and sold by the dean and chapter, the iiijth day of May, Anno Regni Regis iv$^{o.}$ for the somme of xxxiiij*li.* alleged by them to be payd unto the Ministers of the same churche for there stypend. They solde a crosse and ij sensers of sylver ult. die Januarii anno regis Edw. VI, ii$^{o.}$ for the somme of iij*li.* bestowed upon reparacon of their howsses. Nicolas Bulay clk was bound to answer for the same before the commissioniers June ij.

There is a roll of chalices and patens and bells belonging to the Churches in the county; the following are the more noticeable details :—

Brewreton, ij bells. *It.* one bell broken, lyenge in the churche, whiche is solde for the necessary reparacon of the churche, that is to say, to by leade to cover the yle and to glase wyndowes and to deck the churche wales with storyes.

Caxall. Pixes white j.

NAMPTWICHE, on cross of wood plated with silver, v bells and j litle anton bell.

WIBUNBURY, iiij bells and j litle Seints bell.

BARTOMLEY, iij bells and a sakering bell.

MALPAS, a pece of a broken crosse sylver.

CHANTRIES, 2 EDW. VI.

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, being a parish churche of itself, having MCC parsellyng people.

Rychard Walker* of the age of 46 yeares, deane, hathe for his stipend xxvi*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

David Pole† Prebendary, of the age of L yeares, viij*li.* [100£ elsewhere.]

Robert Fowler Prebendary, of the age of 18 yeares, viij*li.*

Thomas Suerle Prebendary, of the age of 60 yeares, lxvj*s.* [50£ elsewhere.]

Peter Mainwaring,‡ of the age of 66 yeares, lxvj*s.* [100 marks elsewhere.]

Richard Smith, of the age of 70 years, lxvj. [80£ elsewhere.]

[John] Whytely,§ of the age of 50 yeares, lxvj*s.*

Wotten, lxvj*s.* [20 marks elsewhere,]

Robert Bowyer, Thomas Latwys, Richard Crosse and Roger Houghton, Vicars xi*Li.* each.

Thomas Ratcliffe, Clerke xxviij*s.* iiij*d.*

Philip ap Gryfythe, Sereton xxvj*s* viij*d.*

The two former were appointed Vicar and Assistant of the parish church.

The Chauntry named the Pety Chanons,‖ Peter Brereton, Prest, of the age of 70 yeares [over and above xx*li.* in other places] C*s.*

FRATERNITY OF ST. GEORGE, 2 Incumbents, clere value v*s.* viij*d.* A Stipendiary in Trenity and St. Bride's churches.

THORNETON, lands for a yerely obit, ij*s.*

BEBINGTON, lands for the maintenance of a lampe light, viij*d.* yerely valewe.

* R. of Wirral, Eystham and Leek, archdeacon of Stafford and Derby, canon of Lichfield and dean of Chester, 1558, d. 1567.

† Prebendary of Lichfield, Bishop of Peterborough, 1557.

‡ Prebendary of Chester, 1544, d. 1570.

§ Prebendary of Chester, 1550.

‖ In the reign of Rich. II the Brereton family held a prebend here called the Petit Canonry.

FRODESHAM. The Chantry called Grene chapel yerely valewe lij*s*. Lands apperteyning to the chapell of St. Laurence in the said parish xj*s*. ij*d*. yerely valewe.

WALLEYSE. Stypend of one prest v*s*. j*d*.

FERMDON, lands for the mayntenance of a light viij*d*.

ALFORDE, do.

The Colledge of BUNBURY with the rectorye or parsonage belongynge to the same, having M howslyng within the same, and hath a vicar and one assistant appointed to serve the cure there. John Woodward Warden (besydes xviiij*li*. in other places) vij*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*. Rawf Banister, James Brooke, Richard Prestland, John Busshell, Robert Ockwerd, brethren, having yerely a pece lxxvj*s*. viij*d*. Rauf Broke and Thomas Symonds, conducts,* having yerely a pece xxvj*s*. viij*d*. Goods and ornaments C*s*. vj*d*. yerely valewe xlix*li*. x*s*. viijd.

Chantry of BUNBURY, yerely valewe xij*li*. ij*s*.

The *Four Servyces* in the same church. Four chaplains having each iiij*li*. xiij*s*. iiij*d*.

NANTEWICHE, a great toune hathe Mcccc howslyng people, a vicar and one assistant. A chantry clere valewe vj*li*.

Frechappell of Sent Laurens and Sent James† in the toune, yerely valewe lxxvj*s*.

Frechapell of Sent Nicholas‡ vij£ x*s*.

NORTHWYCHE. The Chantry xvj*s*. viij*d*.

NETHERKNOTFORD. Landes pertaining to a Chapell and Gramer skole, cxvj*s*. j*d*.

WYDENBURY. Chantry lxix*s*. vi*d*. Stok of ij heifers xvj*s*.

GYFTAFORD. Landes gyven for the reparacon of the church xx*s*.

The Chantry, yerely valewe payd by Syr Edmund Crawforde, cvj*s*. viij*d*.

NEWTON. Chappell of, lxxiij*s*. iiij*d*.

MERTON. ,, ,, liij*s*. iiij*d*.

MACCLESFELDE. The Savage Chantry,§ vj*li*. xij*s*. iiij*d*. being a chapell of ease, and distant from the parish church two myles, and hath oon assistant appointed to serve the cure.

* Called erroneously by Lysons (546) vicars and choristers. The conduct is a stipendiary [conductitius] chaplain. The name is still preserved at Eton College.

† A lazar hospital in Welsh Row.

‡ A hospital founded by the Lovell family.

§ So called from the founder, Abp. Savage of York, who died, 1508; the chapel bearing his name.

The servyce of iij Prests called the Rode Servyce* and the Trinitye Servyce, clere valewe vij*li.* vi*s.* x*d.*

Oberpever. Chauntry, yerely valewe iiij to vj*s.* iiij*d.*

Chadkerke. Chantry, vj xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Chedyll. cvj*s.* viij*d.*

Mabberley. iiij xiij*s.* iiij*d.*

Disteyleydean. xxj xxiij*s.* iiij*d.*
Sir Peter Leigh claimed it as part of his inheritance.

Potte. The iij Chantries yerely valewe xiij to xiiij*s.* It is a Chapell of Ease distant from the Parish Church thre miles, and hath iij houslyng people and is necessary to have a Curet appointed to serve the same.

Northen. The Stipendiary or Servyce within the said Church, lxvj*s.* j*d.*

Midelwiche. The Service called the Rode Service vj*l.*

Bowdon. Chantry iiij*li.* xviij*s.*

Exclusive of the last, the sum total of all chauntries, colleges, brotherhoods, etc.

Clear value cccxiij*li.* vj*s.* xj*d.*

Plate and jewels iiij^{o} iiij^{xx} xix oncs.

Ornaments xxvj*li.* xv*s.*

Stock money ccvij*li.* xiij*s.* iiij*d.* lxxiij kyne xxx*li.*

Woodhed in Londendale, Malpas, Prestbury, Lyme, Sowden, Lyme, Acton, Stooke and Aldelem had each a stipendiary, and Wylmeslawe two.

* A service or mass sung at the Altar of Jesus or Holy Rood.

THE EARLY WORKS OF EMINENT MEN.

By David Buxton, Esq., Ph.Dr., F.R.S.L., Hon. Secretary.

(Read February 9th, 1871.)

We all know, and have received it on authority which we shall never question in the discussion of such subjects as the one before us—the literary work of some of the most eminent of our countrymen—that

"The Child is Father of the Man;"

and I know of nothing more interesting in the history of men, and the history of mind, than to observe how variously the ultimate ripeness of the intellect has been intimated in its earlier developement. And this variety has been manifested in strangely differing forms. Often, indeed, the brightness of precocious promise has been suddenly extinguished. Often, too, the final brightness of the cultivated mind has seemed to spring out of previous conditions which gave no promise of that which was to be. Sometimes it is the clever boy who becomes the conspicuously clever man; but sometimes, again, the very reverse of this happens. Strength is sapped by too early developement: nay, shall we not say, by the over-exertion which results in exhaustion. Some eminent poets have, like Pope,

"Lisped in numbers, for the numbers came."

The present Premier read Homer in his childhood: but one of the most versatile and brilliant men of a preceding generation—Richard Brinsley Sheridan—was a "dunce" at school.

Blake was, in later life, a victorious admiral: he swept the enemies of England from the seas: but up to his own middle age he had never been on the sea.

Poeta nascitur, non fit, is a common and a commonly-accepted proverb. And it is generally true, no doubt, but not of universal application. I would even cite Byron as a proof of the exception. He was not a born poet, but a made one. He was made a poet by that stinging critique on his boyish *Hours of Idleness* which Lord Brougham is believed to have contributed to the *Edinburgh Review.* Those juvenile efforts shewed that he was a rhymester, or a versifier, if you will; and this facility he would doubtless have retained, adding his quota to any possible supplement to Walpole's specimens of the "Works of Noble Authors:" but that he would ever have sprung into the high place which he subsequently occupied, without such an impetus as that which sent him there, I should find it very difficult to believe. Could any one have supposed that in the same school (Harrow), at the same time, there were two boys—one a cotton spinner's son, from Lancashire, who would leave his deepest impress on the legislation of the first half of this century,—the other, an idle lordling, who would become the most renowned author of his time? What was there in the poetry of the anti-jacobin, or in those puerile parodies on Southey, which alone have survived till now, to lead the reader to imagine that in the writer—George Canning—then a boy at Eton, would be found a future Prime Minister of England? or that one of the most remarkable of his successors would be first known as the author of *Vivian Grey,* or that an essay on *Church Principles* should be one of the earliest published products of the intellectual power of the present occupant of that high office—among the foremost which can be held by any of the sons of men!

Incidents and illustrations of this kind have always appeared to me to be peculiarly interesting. And this, I

imagine, is a common feeling. It is this feeling which causes us to regard the scenes of the early life, and even the places of the birth, of eminent men, with very special interest. One single striking proof of this is furnished by the simple mention of the name of STRATFORD-UPON-AVON.

Look again, not indeed at the birthplace only, but at some of the later scenes in the lives of men, who, at the outset of their career, gave little promise of what they would do, and what they would become. And here we will leave the page of literary history, to gather further illustrations of the subject from the actions of some whose distinction was gained in the religious world. For powerfully as *all* history illustrates the words of Holy Writ—"Behold how great matter a "little fire kindleth"—religious history does so in a pre-eminent degree. Many men, we know, have lived to wield a greater power than the mightiest monarchs of their times, and to fill the world with the echo of their names. But, contrast for a moment the ultimate results of their lives with the beginnings of them; and you will find nowhere, in the imaginings of fiction even, stranger revelations than are furnished in the naked facts of their history. If "in clear "dream and solemn vision" it could have been given to their contemporaries to foresee the stirring events which were impending, who would more have wondered at the sight than the very men who were destined to be the chief actors in them! See Peter the Hermit in his cell in Picardy; Luther in the cloister at Erfurt; Loyola in his sick chamber near Pampeluna; Cranmer taking refuge from the plague at Waltham; George Fox rambling in the fields in his suit of leather, or working at his shoemaker's stall at Drayton; John Bunyan, the "immortal tinker," in the gaol at Bedford; and nearer to our own day, John Wesley in his privacy at Lincoln College, or taking his long and solitary voyages across the

Atlantic (which were long, and solitary too, a hundred and fifty years ago!) or preaching in yet deeper solitude as a missionary in the wilds of Georgia. Then, after this review, glance at the after history of these men. What a change has passed! How strange is the contrast! If it were not true, how incredible it would appear! What a crowded, busy, hurried life they reached! What a lonely, uneventful, solitary scene it was they started from! But solitude is, indeed, however much to some a trial, one of the chief ministrants to future success and greatness. No man can be really great, or achieve any notable work in the world, unless his gifts have been consolidated and gauged by self-knowledge. And this can only be done in solitude, at some period, or at certain intervals, in life. The after lives of the men I have just spoken of shewed that this work of solitude—the communing with self and with God—seeing a work to be done, and hearing a call to do it, was fully answered in them. Change the scene, and look at them at a later period. Can that be the same quiet monk—Peter—emerged from his lonely cell, and now leading the vast armies of western Europe across untraversed wilds, to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the unbelieving Turk? Is that the same Luther now hurling his defiance against the chief power in Christendom, with a boldness which half the world thinks impious? Or that the same Loyola—soldier and monk combined—forming and leading that powerful opposition which even now testifies to the character of its original organization, by designating its leader as the *General* of the order?

Even in the course of late events in France, we have seen in what strange places men have found themselves, if we compare the position and the duties of their later lives with those which they had quietly fulfilled so long, and which seemed those to which they had been specially called, and of

which only they were capable. And here the words which Cowper (in the *Task*) wrote long ago, naturally occur to us:—

> Some must be great. Great offices will have
> Great talents. And GOD gives to every man
> The virtue, temper, understanding, taste,
> That lifts him into life; and lets him fall
> Just in the niche he was ordained to fill.

And it is not only true that "great offices will have great talents," but it is further true, as intimated in the latter part of the passage, that for whatever duty the course of this world requires a man, that man, in the order of Divine Providence (as I believe) is found ready and competent to the work. Beneath the outer crust of this world's events there lives and heaves the creative fire which first gave form to chaos. The broken surface of the physical world, has its resemblance in the undulations of the moral. *Here*, the strata dip into peaceful valleys: *there*, they rise into the heroic mountains. Here, calm men sow, and reap, and gather into barns; and there, men of bolder energies and more daring minds climb, and soar, and look upwards, aspiring to pierce the veil which shrouds "the misty mountain's top," and hides the future from us. Wherever a space is left by these regular motions; wherever the working of the subterranean force breaks up the form of the old rock, and forms a new plateau, there is made a new position for a man to occupy—either as a sentinel, warning against danger, or as a pioneer to those below, who, following him with the eye in his upward march, may also learn to tread in his successful footsteps.

Thus far, however, we have been hovering round and approaching our subject, rather than coming directly to it. We have been thinking of the early history of eminent men, and glancing at the scenes in their early lives; but our proper subject is the "Early works of eminent men." It was suggested by a volume in my possession, entitled "Oxford Prize

"Poems; being a collection of such [English] Poems as "have at various times obtained prizes in the University of "Oxford." The "various times" range from 1768 to 1839; and among the authors, whose first successes were welcomed in the famous Sheldonian Theatre, are to be found the following:—Reginald Heber (1803), John Wilson (1806), Henry Hart Milman (1812), William Ewart (1820), Thomas Legh Claughton (1829), Roundell Palmer (1832), W. R. Seymour Fitzgerald (1835), Frederic Faber (1836), Arthur Penrhyn Stanley (1837), and John Ruskin (1839.)

The same volume contains several odes and addresses on the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University (1834), some of which bear the following names:—J. Keble, Fellow of Oriel; Roundell Palmer, B.A., Trinity; Edward Cardwell, Balliol.

Apart from the merit of these various productions, and the interest attaching to the occasions of their publication, it is a pleasant thing to have before us the early works of men who became so eminent in after life as divines, poets, and statesmen.*

I have three other volumes to refer to. One is the *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin;* another, a collected series of newspaper contributions, entitled *The Letters of Runnymede;* and the third, a treatise on *Church Principles considered in their*

* The book was passed round when this paper was read, and was inspected with interest. I give only one extract, which is the opening verse in the ode which bears the name of the author of the *Christian Year*:—

If, when across the autumnal heaven,
The rude winds draw their restless shroud,
One glorious star to sight be given
Now dim, now clear, an isle in deeps of cloud;
Watchmen on their lonely tower
Shepherds by their mountain hold,
Wistful gazing hour by hour,
Trace it through the tempest's fold:
Even such, in records dark of care and crime,
Each in high Heaven's appointed time,
Bright names of heroes glow, that gem the days of old.

results. The first-named is the earliest in point of date. The introductory section is dated November 20, 1797. The copy from which I quote was formerly in the possession of the late William Gregson, Esq., of Edge Hill. It contains several manuscript notes, and under his own name, on the fly-leaf, is added, "The gift of J. H. Markland." A book associated with two such good men as the biographer of Bishop Ken and the late Mr. Gregson, I hope I know how to value. It is of the "sixth edition," which was brought out in 1828. In the preceding year, its most eminent contributor—George Canning—had closed his career as Prime Minister of England,—the dates above given describing that range of his life which extended from his schoolboy days at Eton, till he was struck down, amid the cares, anxieties, and duties of his high office.

Of the second book which I have mentioned, the title-page runs thus :—

"THE LETTERS OF RUNNYMEDE."

"Neither for shame nor fear this mask he wore,
That, like a vizor in the battle field,
But shrouds a manly and a daring brow."

London: John Macrone, St. James's Square. MDCCCXXXVI.

These letters are addressed to the chiefs of the political parties of that day:—Lords Melbourne, Brougham, John Russell, Stanley, William Bentinck, Palmerston, Glenelg, and Cottenham (Lord Chancellor); Sir Robert Peel, Sir John Hobhouse, Sir John Campbell, and Mr. Thomas Attwood; also to the House of Lords, and "To the People." The dedication of the volume is to Sir Robert Peel. I will quote one of its paragraphs, both as a specimen of the book, and with some expectation that it may reveal the author before I name him :—"When you, Sir, quitted Drayton in February, "the vagabond delegate of a foreign priesthood was stirring "up rebellion against the peers of England, with the im-

"plied, if not the definite sanction of his Majesty's ministers. "Where is that hired disturber now? Like base coin detected "by the very consequences of its currency, and finally nailed "against the counter it has deceived, so this bad politician, "like a bad shilling, has worn off his edge by his very "restlessness."

This, of course, was spoken of the late Daniel O'Connell; and while the acrid pungency of the passage is worthy of himself, its literary excellence, in the application and management of the simile, is far beyond him. I think these characteristics are sufficient of themselves to identify the writer with that great Parliamentary leader whose first essay at speaking, in the House of Commons, was such a conspicuous failure that he was obliged to sit down; though not before he had uttered these remarkable and truly prophetic words:—"I am "not at all surprised at the reception I have experienced. I "have begun several times many things, and I have often suc- "ceeded at last. I sit down now, but the time will come when "you will hear me." Who that knows what part the speaker has played in the political history of this country since 1846, would suppose that those words were spoken in 1837, by Benjamin Disraeli?

The third of the volumes I have brought before you, is that on *Church Principles*, of which I have already quoted the title at length. The members of the Historic Society know well my admiration for elegant and expressive diction. Anything more pure and graceful, in thought and expression, than the concluding sentences of the passage I am about to quote (with which the volume ends) is not, I believe, to be found anywhere in the whole range of English literature.

"And here I close, at length, this review of the religious position of "the Church of England under the circumstances of the day: of course, "not venturing to assume that these pages can effect in any degree the "purpose with which they are written, of contributing to her security

"and peace; but yet full of the most cheerful anticipations of her "destiny, and without the remotest fear either of schism among her "children, or of any permanent oppression from the state, whatever "may befal the state itself. She has endured for ten years, not only "without essential injury, but with a decided and progressive growth in "her general influence as well as her inward vigour, the ordeal of "public discussion, and the brunt of many hostile attacks, in a time of "great agitation and disquietude, and of immense political changes."

The passage thus far has an interest of its own which forbade its omission, for other reasons than the desire to preserve the continuity of the paragraph. It then goes on in a higher strain :—

"There was a period when her children felt no alarms for her safety: "and then she was in serious peril. Of late their apprehensions have "been violently and constantly excited; but her dangers have diminished "—so poor a thing, at best, is human solicitude. Yes, if we may put any "trust in the signs that are within her and upon her, if we may at all "rely upon the results of the patient and deliberate thoughts of many "minds, upon the consenting testimony of foes and friends, the hand of "her Lord is over her for good, to make her more and more a temple of "His Spirit and an organ of His will. Surely He will breathe into "her anew and more and more the breath of life, and will raise up in "her abundantly power in the midst of weakness, and the sense of "power in the midst of the sense of weakness—of weakness in so far "as she is an earthen vessel, of power inasmuch as she is a heavenly "treasure abiding therein. The might that none can withstand, the "wisdom that none can pierce, the love that none can fathom, the "revelation of truth whose light faileth not, the promise that never can "be broken;—these are the pillars of her strength whereon she rests, "we may trust not more conspicuous by their height than secure upon "their deep foundations."

The work from which these noble words are taken was published in the year 1841. Its author is described as "W. E. Gladstone, Esq., late Student of Christchurch, "and M.P. for Newark." I bought my copy in London in 1844, on one of my afternoons among the book stalls. It may have formed part of a bookseller's "remainder;" or been the spare copy of some critic or reviewer. Another work by the same author, which had been criticised by Macaulay in the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article which may now be found in

the collection of his "Essays," I was never able to meet with, though I tried long to obtain a copy. The fact of having written that book—"The Church in its relations with the State"—was the cause of its author resigning his seat in the Ministry of Sir Robert Peel, when that statesman brought in his measure for the endowment of Maynooth College. Yet the same writer, who at that time felt such a matter to be a serious difficulty, (though he did, eventually, "support Sir R. Peel's measure, in 1845,") became, at a subsequent period, the very Minister who proposed and accomplished the disestablishment of the Church in Ireland.*

It is not for us to associate facts like these with any political preferences or prejudices of our own; or to contemplate them in any aspect which is coloured (I was going to say distorted) by party feeling. Our object here should be to treat them in their higher relation, as matters of historic interest; and to gather what lessons they may have to teach us, concerning the influence of character, and the conduct of life. And when we so regard them,—when the memory is quickened by such objects as I have now brought before you,—what strange variations in the position and character of men, and of affairs, are brought into view! What combinations: what divisions: what purposes formed, and changed, and defeated! How some men seem fated to

* One passage, in the volume on *Church Principles*, seems to illustrate as if by anticipation, and in a very striking way, those movements and changes in the arenas of Politics, Theology, and even the Arts, which have so remarkably characterised this century. "Thus it is with society in this our day. Many a "seed has sunk into the soil, and lain inorganic for a time, waiting the shower "and the sun. But at some instant, under some combination of causes too "subtle and too comprehensive for human analysis, the dormant instincts begin "to move; and though at first blindly groping their way underground, they "gather themselves by degrees into masses, and these masses again unite in a "larger mass, until at length they are such that in their collision they shall "shake the world. Happy indeed is he who shall be found prepared in that "day, and happy the humblest of men, who, with sincere intent, shall have "contributed in the very least degree towards such a preparation."—Chap. vii, p. 518. This reads more like a passage in a speech in 1870, than a paragraph printed in 1840.

accomplish the very objects they have made it their chief purpose to oppose; and to fail in that which it seemed to be their special mission to effect! And when the mind thus recalls the Past, with its promise and its purpose; and proceeds to contrast it with the Present; nothing can exhibit more fully—often, indeed, most pitifully—the confounding of hopes, the thwarting of intention, the inconstancy of man, the defeat of ambition. Yet, on the other hand, it is a cheering thing to see the marvellous success which sometimes waits on perseverance, the singular honour which never fails to crown high aims, lofty principle, and unsullied probity; and through all, and above all, to observe the working of that Power which makes man instrumental to its ends, and to watch and welcome the compassing of those results which mark the progress of humanity, and form the history of the world.

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PROCEEDINGS,

TWENTY-THIRD SESSION, 1870-71.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, October 18th, 1870.

REV. A. HUME, D.C.L., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the Annual Excursion having been taken as read, and signed, the SECRETARY read the following

REPORT.

In presenting their Report of the Twenty-second completed Session, the Council have the pleasure of stating that the intellectual material has been unusually abundant. There was a full supply of suitable Papers, and the promises already for the ensuing Session are still more gratifying. They have the further satisfaction of saying that the delay in the issue of the Annual Volume, which in past years caused inconvenience to the Members, has in the last Session been overcome—the Volume was printed off in the middle of September, and in a few days after was in the course of distribution. They recommend to their successors a careful attention to promptness of issue; and that no author of a Paper be allowed to keep the press waiting beyond a very limited time.

Several documents of very great value have lain over for the present, including the ecclesiastical lists forwarded by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., respecting certain Churches in the city of Chester and in the diocese when it included the two counties; these will be of great interest, not only to the Members of the Society, but to the public at large.

The Annual Excursion, which, however, forms no necessary part of the business of the Society, took place on Saturday, the 18th June. The Members and their friends visited Hawkstone, where, through the kindness of Lord Hill, they had free access to his grounds, and had the pleasure of dining together in the Waterloo tent.

An important event, which marked the closing year, has been the visit to the town, for the third time, of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Though its investigations nominally coincided with only part of the subjects embraced by this Society, in reality

it covered a much larger space—very little which is comprised in your programme, except Literature, being foreign to their investigations. The stimulus which has thus been given to intellectual inquiry, and the new interest awakened in the public mind, cannot fail to produce important results to the community at large, and especially to the members of our local learned societies.

When the Association visited the town in 1854, this Society had only been six years in existence, and had just entered on the occupation of its larger area, instead of, as at first, merely the subjects which illustrated the history of the two counties, yet the Members had the gratification of entertaining the Association at the close of its labours, and they presented honorary life memberships to twelve who had occupied a distinguished position in its ranks. In the interval three of these have been removed by death—Lord Ross, Sir David Brewster, and Dr. Whewell—all of whom had stood in the front rank in those departments of general knowledge which they cultivated respectively.

On this occasion the Society elected six Honorary Members, and to avoid difficult or invidious selection, they nominated those whom the Association itself had chosen for the performance of important duties. These were the present President and his two immediate predecessors, and the three Lecturers during the week of the Liverpool meeting, viz., Professor Huxley, D.C.L., F.R.S., Professor Stokes, Sec. R.S., D.C.L., J. D. Hooker, of Kew, M.D., F.R.S., Professor Tyndall, LL.D., F.R.S., Professor Rankine, LL.D., and Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P., &c., &c.

At the end of the concluding general meeting, the Society's diploma was presented to each of these gentlemen, and a set of the ten Volumes constituting the second series. Through the kindness of Mr. Mayer, the Society were also enabled to present to Professor Huxley, the President, a Mazer Bowl, similar to those given on two previous occasions, viz., in 1849 and 1854.

During the past Session various interchanges of the Society's Volumes have been made with other Societies, and an extension of this reciprocity is recommended, so as indirectly to enrich the Society's Library by the surplus Volumes which remain in stock.

With the view of making the Libraries of the various Societies which meet in this building more generally useful, the Council concurred in a suggestion emanating from the Literary and Philosophical Society. It was, that the various fragmentary Libraries be made available to all the Members of the Societies to which they respectively belong; an arrangement which would evidently contribute to the promotion of more fraternal relations.

In the earlier history of this Society, several handsome donations were made from time to time in aid of the printing and illustration of the Volumes, and the Members therefore received much more than they were entitled to in virtue of their subscriptions merely. Of late years such donations have been less frequent, because the idea has seldom been suggested; and as the size of the Volume has not been diminished, the finances of the Society have been drawn upon for printing purposes, in a larger proportion than usual. This error, so far as it is one, can be remedied by occasional donations for illustrations as before, by printing in full only the more important Papers, and by disposing of

portions of the surplus stock, some Volumes of which are of great intrinsic value, though little known to gentlemen who have lately joined the Society.

The balloting lists have been prepared in accordance with the laws, and duly forwarded to the various Members of the Society.

The Report having been unanimously adopted, the President stated that as the Treasurer's financial statement, had not been prepared in its usual form, its consideration would be postponed till a future meeting. This having been agreed to, the election for the Council and Officers for the ensuing year was proceeded with. The result announced from the Chair, is shewn on page iv.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his INAUGUAL ADDRESS.*

November 3rd, 1870.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. T. J. Moore.

1. Specimens of Encaustic tiling, from St. John's Church, the oldest in the city of Chester, and lately rebuilt by the Marquis of Westminster; and Roman Samian ware and coarser pottery, from among ancient fortifications in the same city;—these articles having been recently presented to the Derby Museum, by Mr. Aaron Whitty.
2. Two Abyssinian MS rolls, illustrated with portraits and ornaments, and written in the Ethiopic character. Procured by officers of the late military expedition to Madagascar.
3. A curious native West African hand loom, for mat weaving, containing a specimen of the work which it was designed to execute; and with it a bag containing some of the dried grass, of various colours, used as weft.
4. Two living fish. They are remarkable and rare: they walk over dry land seeking water, and inhabit the ponds about Rio. They are probably the first seen alive in Europe. They were brought over and presented by Captain J. A. Parry, R.M.S.S. "Pascal." There are in the Derby Museum six others living, well worthy of inspection by the curious.
5. The latest natural history rarity: a dead specimen of a huge mud turtle or tortoise, from the Upper Nile, brought home by Captain Horsfall. This is said to be a great delicacy. The specimen exhibited shewed one striking peculiarity of the living creature, viz., the imperfect union between the upper and lower shells, as compared with tortoises, terrapines, and even turtles. These are formed for living in mud or the ooze of freshwater rivers and streams.

* Transactions, page 1.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

1. Seven pieces of moss agate, recently found in Patagonia by Mr. John Ellis of this town. They were picked up, the natural forms upon the seabeach, and five manipulated ones, of forms similar to those of some of our own aboriginal flint instruments, on the surface of elevated ground, inland.
2. A photograph of a remarkable sculptured stone, hitherto unpublished, in the parish church at Ilkley in Yorkshire, the ancient Olicana. It is believed to be of Roman execution and of mythical design. Dr. Whitaker, in his history of Craven, shortly notices the slab, and is of opinion that the whole steeple of the church was built of Roman materials, dug from the foundations of a Roman fortress.

The following Paper was read:—

ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF GREAT BRITAIN, SEC. IV. THE INFLUENCE OF EMIGRATION UPON LABOUR AND INDUSTRY, *by B. L. Benas, Esq.*

November 17th, 1870.

JOS. BOULT, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A purse of an African chief.
2. Several primitive fish hooks.
3. A Nubian spoon, elaborately carved.
4. A spoon, carved by one of the inmates of the Lancaster Lunatic Asylum.

By Mr. T. J. Moore (Derby Museum.)

A remarkable sponge, a fine example of a supposed new species, discovered by Dr. Carpenter and Prof. Wyville Thomson, in the deep sea dredgings of the "Porcupine." It has been presented to the museum by Mrs. J. E. Gray, and is considered by Dr. Gray to be identical with a species described by Dr. Leidy, in America, from a specimen from Santa Cruz. The long silicious filaments serve to hold the sponge more or less loosely anchored in the mud of the deep sea bed.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

A number of books, letters, and engravings in illustration of his Paper, which was entitled—

AN UNPUBLISHED EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF WILLIAM ROSCOE, POET AND HISTORIAN.

Mr. Elsby presented to the Society an engraved copperplate of an Abyssinian fibula, which belonged to the late Miss Tinne.

December 1st, 1870.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following Gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society:—

Mr. John Paul Rylands.
Mr. Benjamin Lepard Green.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Major Egerton Leigh, per Mr. Mayer.

An ancient caudle cup and cover, with an inscription—*Ex Dono Regis*—(the gift of the King.) It has for a long time been in possession of the family, and used at the birth of the children. Having been made before silver was stamped, it is supposed to be of the period of King Henry VIII.

An ancient silver ring, of singular form, having four rows of round beads, on the top of which is a fish. Probably one of the early Christian emblems.

By James Mathews, Esq., Rock Ferry.

1. A very large and heavy war club, studded with round pierced pieces of white shell.
2. A large club, the end of which is splayed; the handle is ornamented with lines, carved in zig-zag.
3. A calabash water bottle.
4. A beautifully-formed war canoe paddle. All the foregoing are from New Zealand.
5. A hand club or mace, the ball at the end carved in sections like a melon; from the Fiji islands.

By Mr. Mayer.

1. An iron dagger-case, with very rudely-carved figures and bands of ornament. The upper part is of brass and of a more recent date; the iron work is of about the 14th century.
2. Two flint arrow heads, found on the battle-field of Harlaw in 1867; the smaller one is of extremely delicate make.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

1. A supplement to *Isca Silurum*, or an illustrated catalogue of the Museum of Antiquities at Caerleon. By John Edw. Lee, F.S.A., F.R.S.
2. Illustrated description of enamelled glass beads, &c., and a portion of an ancient saintly shrine in bronze—in his collection. By Robert Day, jun., Esq., F.S.A., Cork.

By Lieut.-Col. Trimble.

1. Bronze objects found in Ireland, viz., a fine and well-formed specimen of the ancient Irish battle-axe, resembling a short "leaf-shaped" sword, the shaft of which, in wood, fixed at a right angle, crumbled away upon handling. Found fourteen feet deep in a bog, near Castle Derg, county Tyrone.
2. A small but well-made and looped spearhead.
3. A small cup with fluted side, supposed to have been used at the altar.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

A Burmese book, of curious design.

He also exhibited two maps of great local interest, in which the wards of the town were marked, showing also at a glance the amount of school accommodation, and the number of scholars of different denominations attending those schools, as also the disparity of accommodation and attendance in different districts.

The President alluded to the recent death by violence of Mr. Christian Flueck, formerly Hon. Librarian of the Literary and Philosophical Society, and remarked that he was sure the members would hear with very great regret of the untimely end of so intelligent and courteous a gentleman.

The following Paper was read:—

RELIQUES OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCHES OF ST. BRIDGET AND ST. HILDEBURGA (HILBRE ISLAND) PARISH OF WEST KIRKBY IN WIRRAL,* *by H. Ecroyd Smith.*

Mr. Smith illustrated his Paper with a number of well executed drawings.

December 15th, 1871.

Rev. DR. HUME, President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., for Mr. E. Mathews, Rock Ferry.

1. Six small cups with handles, made by Pennington on Shaw's Brow, Liverpool. These cups belonged to Mr. Mathews' grandmother, Betty Broadwood, daughter of Joshua Wright, clerk of St. Paul's Church, who kept the tavern called "The Folly," at the corner of Mill Lane. They were used about a hundred years ago for "bragget" drinking.
2. The skull of an albatross.
3. A pair of nicely-adjusted Chinese scales.
4. A fancy riding-whip, made of the horn of a rhinoceros.
5. A piece of the same horn in the rough.
6. An old Dutch tobacco box, with groups of raised figures, representing scenes from the life of Christ.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

A new local periodical, occasionally illustrated, entitled *Bachelor's Papers*, of which three numbers had appeared, the serial being edited by a young gentleman residing in Bold Street.

The Paper for the evening was read by the President. It had been prepared by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.S.A., from the Records of the Duchy of Lancaster, and gave an account of Cockersand Abbey, Cartmel Priory, Holland Priory, Burscough Priory, and Conis head Priory.

* Transactions, page 13.

January 12th, 1871.

DAVID BUXTON, Ph. Dr. F.R.S.L., in the Chair.

The following Gentlemen were unanimously elected Ordinary Members of the Society :—

Jas. Paterson, Esq., Warrington.
E. J. Wilson, Esq., Custom House, Liverpool.
Frank Andrews, Esq., Apsley House, Ashton-under-Lyne.
John Hirst, jun., Esq., Dobcross, Saddleworth.
F. J. Fownes, Esq., 10, Lord Street, Liverpool.
G. H. Float, Esq., 37, Richmond Terrace.
Samuel Kisch, Esq., M.D., 14, Great George Square.
Wm. Ferguson, Esq., 2, St. Aidan's Terrace, Claughton.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By H. Ecroyd Smith.

1. An early but undated Dutch chrorographical map of the British isles, locally interesting through depicting the present peninsula of Wirral as an island.
2. Photograph of a rare engraving, by Knyff and Kip, *cir.* 1700, representing a bird's eye view of Eaton Hall estate and neighbourhood, including Beeston Hill, Castle, &c.
3. Copperplate engraving, *A Plan of the intended Navigable Canal from Liverpool to Leeds*, executed by John Longbottom, engineer, *cir.* 1769-70, much altered in construction as regards the Lancashire portion of the route.
4. Copy (one of the very few extant) of *Apollo's Cabinet, or the Muse's Delight*, an 8vo volume of music and songs, compiled by the printer, John Sadler, of Harrington Street, 1756.
5. Lamp, in porcelain, probably French, but beautifully painted, with a portrait of Iola or Omphale (wives of Bacchus), by Billingley, about 1800.
6. Drinking-cup, in porcelain, printed with a characteristic scene of Liverpool life, *cir.* 1760, and signed by John Sadler, of Harrington Street, the inventor of printing upon ceramic productions.

By Mr. J. Harris Gibson.

A curious German copperplate, dated 1677, depicting a gentleman presenting an open volume to the Virgin Mary and Child seated upon clouds, with German inscription.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

A map of the Borough of Liverpool, divided into wards, in which, by an ingenious arrangement, the number of schools were shewn, so as to indicate the denomination of each school, the number of scholars attending, and the number of children in each district for which there exists no school accommodation. In one corner of the map was a diagram, bringing all the details of the map into a focus, so that the facts intended to be conveyed could be seen at a glance.

By Mr. Samuel Hill.

A Bible, dated 1630, in excellent preservation.

The following Paper was read:—

AN ESSAY ON SONGS AND BALLADS; ILLUSTRATED FROM SHAKESPEARE AND THOSE CURRENT IN LANCASHIRE,* *by the late John Harland, F.S.A., and T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

January 26th, 1871.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A number of Chinese drawings.
2. Several photographs from the last French exhibition.

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

1. A print, representing the lily tank, in which was grown, in his garden at Bebington, Cheshire, in the open air, the *Victoria Regia* lily, together with most of the lilies hitherto only grown in hothouses; and on the banks which surrounded the tank were grown many varieties of plants and flowers never before grown in the open air.
2. Four silver ornaments, which appear to have been tags or ends of straps; two of them are ornamented with the entwined vermicular work so frequently found on Anglo-Saxon objects and in the illuminations of their manuscripts; the other two have peculiar ornamentation, probably unique—all the ornaments are surrounded by a row of dots. The holes where the rivets fastened the leather straps are quite perfect on three of the tags. Along with them are two roundels of gold-ornamented scrolls of filligree work, about one inch and a half diameter. They were found on Gothland moor in Yorkshire, which on the map is marked Lilla Howe, about a mile from the source of the Yorkshire river Derwent. In Eadwin's *Villa Regia* it is related that Lilla, the king's favourite, saved his master's life from assassination at the cost of his own, A.D. 625; and probably they came from Lilla's grave, as they evidently belonged to a person of rank. At the same place were found several plain gold rings and a gold brooch which is said to have had a white stone in it.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

A rare large paper copy of the Durobrivæ of Antonius *(Castor Northants)* illustrating the extensive pottery works, iron foundries, and villas of the Roman period in this neighbourhood.

The Paper for the evening was *by Mr. Charles Hardwick, of Manchester*, and was entitled—ON GIANTS, MYTHICAL AND OTHERWISE. It was read, in the absence of the author, by Dr. Buxton.

* Transactions, page 87.

February 9th, 1871.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

A number of the friends of members, including ladies, were present at this meeting by invitation.

Mr. John E. Pearson, Golborne park, near Newton-le-Willows, was duly elected an Ordinary Member of the Society.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., for Sir Thomas Tobin of Ballincollig Castle.

A large collection of Irish gold ornaments, amongst which was—(1.) A torque, weighing 37 dwts. 6 grains, and measuring nearly nine inches across. It was found near Mangerton, in the county of Kerry, in 1842, eight feet below the surface of the bog, being one of the most perfect ornaments ever found, shewing all the ornamentation quite distinct. (2.) A collar, weighing 1 oz. 13 dwts., found in draining a field near Baileyborough, county Cavan, July, 1856. (3.) Five *armillæ* or bracelets, supposed by some antiquarians to have been adjusted in weight to serve as representatives of money. They are nearly of one form, being made of thick gold wire, tapering from the centre to the ends, which are formed into cusps. They vary in weight from 10 dwts. to 25 dwts. (4.) Part of a plaque, of very elaborate workmanship, having two rows of interlaced work; found near Ballycotton, county Cork, 1867. From the fragments remaining being broken in pieces by the countryman who found them, it is not unlikely that it was the covering of a shield or piece of armour. (5.) Several silver bracelets or pieces of ring money, with an ingot of gold, formerly used by persons making a contract, the holding of each end by parties to a bargain being considered a most holy pact. (6.) A very interesting collection of gold ornaments; amongst them some most beautifully-wrought plaque earrings, brooches, pins, and other articles.

Mr. Mayer also exhibited, for Mr. Frank Holder,

Some very uncommon ethnological objects from various countries and a carved figure of St. John, made from the wood of Shakespeare's mulberry tree.

By Mr. Mayer.

Two gold figures, found in the graves at Peru: a curious figure watch and a watch in the shape of a guitar.

By Mr. Henry Boyle.

A "Windermere ball:" a perfectly round and slightly elastic ball, of about five inches in diameter, composed entirely of dead larch leaves, and formed beneath the water by the motion of the eddies in the shallow bays of the lake.

By Mr. G. H. Float.

A very carefully drawn copy of an original miniature of Queen Elizabeth, by Helliard.

By Mr. Jacob, for Mr. George Mills.

Two very curious specimens of coral, in the form of cornucopiæ, brought from the Philippine Islands.

By Mr. Jacob, for Mr. Leyland.

1. A slave whip of rhinoceros hide, from central Africa.
2. Head rest or pillow for two persons, used by Zulu Kaffirs.
3. A strip of embroidered work, the only dress worn by native women of Zulu.
4. Head band worn by Zulu ladies.
5. Common knife and spoon in use by Kaffirs.
6. Glass coral from Japan.
7. Walking-stick of rhinoceros hide.
8. Japanese carving on the root of a tree.
9. Carved nautilus shell.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE EARLY WORKS OF EMINENT MEN,* *by Dr. Buxton.*

February 23rd, 1871.

Rev. Dr. HUME, President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. Holder.

1. Teapot, in memory of Admiral Vernon.
2. Russian tryptich.
3. Dutch pistol tinder box.
4. Collection of documents from the Crimean war.
5. Chinese treatise on geography.
6. A copy of the first English book printed in Egypt.
7. Copy of vessels' reports, signed by Paul Jones.

By Mr. F. Taylor.

1. A collection of New Zealand ferns and mosses.
2. Petrifaction of wood from the island of Antigua, West Indies.
3. Chlorastrolite, or green star stone, named by Dr. Jackson, taken at Rock harbour, east side of Isle Royal, Lake Superior.
4. Snake nuts from Demerara.
5. Teeth of the sea cow, from Og Island, river Essequibo.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

An iron sword, with handle of carved wood and engraved guard and pommel, found many years ago on the site of the Roman camp at Maryport, where seventeen inscribed altars were recently found, and supposed also to be of Roman fabrication. It is, however, only of sixteenth century workmanship, but a good example.

* Transactions, page 181.

The following Paper was read :—

NOTES ON THE "VICTORIA REGIA," WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS HABIT, BOTH AS GROWN IN THE AMAZON AND IN THE OPEN AIR LATELY AT BEBINGTON, NEAR LIVERPOOL, *by Henry Boyle, Esq., M.A.*

During the conversation which followed the reading of the Paper, Mr. Frederick Taylor read some interesting remarks on the plant as seen by him in its native waters.

March 9th, 1871.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society :—

Joseph Dod, Esq., Bebington.
Edw. Whalley, Esq., Liverpool and London and Globe Insurance Co.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Samuel Smith, jun., Esq.
Two curious eastern knives, one with remarkably heavy handle, the other a very peculiarly-shaped clasped knife, with a kind of rack-work and spring at back to keep it open.

By Mr. Holder.
1. Curious old oak carving—"Abraham and Isaac."
2. Fruit from the West Coast of Africa.
3. Old bronze—"The Crucifixion"—date 1103.
4. Staffordshire ware jug by Neale, contemporary of Wedgwood.
5. Ancient pottery from the Crimea.
6. Curious Dutch book of engravings.
7. Ancient sword and spear.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.
A large printing block of carved wood, apparently a section or panel from the wall of a hall or corridor. The design, of superior execution, includes a considerable amount of inlaying with brass and copper wire, the whole having a very pleasing effect, in the well-known Chinese style. A second piece, similarly ornamented, but of cylindrical form and three feet long, was unfortunately turned into firewood. Both were found some years ago in a house, long uninhabited, in Paddington.

Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith also exhibited, from the Mayer collection,
Examples of the best manufacture of English porcelain, from early Bow, Chelsea, and Staffordshire to Liverpool, the last including both painted pieces of Chaffers's and others printed by John Sadler.

By Dr. Buxton, for Mr. Frank Jones.
1. Early English drinking cups.
2. Jasper teapot (Ben Adams.)
3. Cream jug (Joseph Mayer.)

4. Early English painting.
5. Elijah Mayer.
6. Spode.
7. Early Wedgwood.
8. Ditto.
9. Modern Wedgwood pipe.
10. Early English pipe, dug up at Denbigh castle.
11. Elizabethan jug.
12. A very early copy of the Portland vase.

The following Paper was read by Dr. Buxton :—

A History of Pottery, from the earliest times to the present day,* *by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.*

March 23rd, 1871.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. M. P. Elsby.

Several articles of ancient Roman pottery, belonging to A. Walford, Esq., viz., several Roman lamps (plain and ornamental); a piece of Samian ware, found in Camp-field, Manchester; a beautiful piece of Samian ware, brought from Alexandria in Egypt; and a perfect Roman colander. Also a piece of minute Chinese carving from Shanghai.

By Dr. Kendrick, in illustration of his Paper.

Roman remains found at Wilderspool, an undoubted Roman station, probably the Condate of Antoninus. Several varieties of pottery, both in shape and description, had not been noticed before. Some curious double cups and a peculiar form of mortarium were also shewn. Bronze fibulæ, hair-pins, glass beads in several varieties, Roman keys, sacrificial and other knives, &c.

The following Paper was read :—

Recent Discoveries at the Roman Site at Wilderspool, near Warrington, with a Map of the Roman Roads in South Lancashire and North Cheshire,* *by James Kendrick, Esq., M.D.*

April 6th, 1871.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., Vice-President, in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. G. S. Robertson.

A bayonet of about 1790, found April 5th, 1871, at Garston.

* Transactions, page 47. † *Ibid.*, page 153.

By Mr. Wm. Ferguson.

A flint celt, found more than a century ago near Stanes Castle, Aberdeenshire.

By Mr. D. T. Stewart.

Two MSS from Abyssinia, one taken from the wall of a Church, and the other from the neck of a slain chief at Senafé.

By Mr. Mayer.

A series of specimens of Samian ware, all of which were of remarkable types, some of them perhaps unique from the boldness of the high relief and the beauty of the modelling. One piece of pottery red ware, part of a vase, has a painted figure upon it, in red ochre, of a female in the act of dancing. This was found at Colchester.

Also, by kind permission of Mr. Raynes, of Rock Ferry, Mr. Mayer exhibited—

Some extraordinary specimens of fossil bones, found in the limestone beds of the quarries at Pentregwyddal, in the parish of Llysfaen, in the county of Carnarvon; and four silver Roman coins, one of them belonging to the Emperor Tiberius, another to Claudius, a consular family, and one illegible—they are part of a large find under a cairn on Penmaenmawr.

By the Rev. Canon Eaton, M.A.

Several coins, including English and Scotch, silver and copper, found during the recent restoration of the parish church of St. Bridget, West Kirby.

By Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.

1. A gentleman's shagreen-covered travelling toilet case, with accommodation for a mirror, silver cup for hot water, tweezers, and a dirk, in addition to the inevitable razors and strap.
2. A door-key in latten, of about the 14th century, recently found among the ruins of Roche Abbey, South Yorkshire.
3. A variety of objects, in illustration of his Paper.

The following Paper was read:—

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE MERSEY DISTRICT, 1870-71,* *by Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

April 20th, 1871.

JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The friends of Members, including ladies, attended this meeting, and there were shewn on the tables most of the objects exhibited during the Session. In addition to these the following were exhibited:—

By Mr. T. J. Moore.

1. A prayer book, *temp.* Queen Anne, belonging to Miss Clegg of New Brighton, containing the service for the healing of those afflicted with "King's evil."

* Transactions, page 119.

2. A cyphering book, dated 1675, remarkable for caligraphic skill and arithmetical peculiarities—belonging to Mrs. Goodwin, of Suffolk.
3. A kettle, a tea-pot, and a tube, used by the natives of Chili for preparing the matè tea—belonging to Mrs. Whiteway.

The following Paper was read :—

A Description of a Picture found in one of the Rock Tombs at Benihassen, Egypt.

Read by Dr. Buxton, in the absence of the author, the Rev. Dr. H. Haigh.

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on Thursday, September 14th, the locality chosen being Bebington, Cheshire. The party, including the friends of Members, both ladies and gentlemen, left the George's landing-stage at 1-30 p.m., and proceeded by steamer to New Ferry for Bebington. Here the Society visited the Fine Art Exhibition, opened under the auspices of Mr. Mayer, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, in aid of a fund for the establishment of a local hospital. The company were highly gratified with the collection, which contained pictures and other works of art of a high character. After inspecting the exhibition, the party were admitted to the grounds of Pennant's House, the residence of Mr. Mayer, to view the choice collection of rare plants, fruit trees, the fernery, &c., &c., the guests being hospitably entertained by Mr. and Miss Mayer. The parish church at Bebington was also visited and examined with great interest. It is now in process of restoration and renovation, its architectural features being well worth preserving; the West end is Norman, and in good preservation, the East being of the time of Henry VII, while the tower and spire belong to an intermediate period. The church is said to have no parallel in the neighbourhood. At four o'clock the party proceeded to Eastham, where dinner was served at the Ferry Hotel. The Rev. Dr. Hume, President, occupied the chair, having on his right and left Miss and Mr. Mayer, who were the guests of the Society on the occasion. The vice-chairs were filled by Mr. J. A. Picton and D. Buxton, Ph.D. Various toasts having been given and responded to, the party returned by steamer to Liverpool, having spent a most agreeable afternoon.

SESSION XXI, 1868-1869.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in Account with*

Dr. JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

				£	s.	d.
Postage and delivery of Vol. IX, N.S.	£6	1	4			
Printing and binding ditto	97	1	9			
Illustrating ditto	9	5	6			
				112	8	7
Sessional Expenses (P.C. a/c)	2	1	5			
Printing and delivery of Circulars	10	18	0			
Stationery	3	2	1			
Postage Stamps	1	15	0			
Refreshments at Meetings	9	19	0			
Rent of Rooms	10	10	0			
Attendance of S. Burke	2	5	0			
Miscellaneous Expenses	2	9	8			
Collector's Commission	3	12	3			
Insurance of Stock	1	8	0			
Assistant Secretary	25	0	0			
				73	0	5
Annual Excursion	2	17	3			
				2	17	3
				£188	6	3

Oct., 1869.	£	s.	d.
By Balance, from Session XX	39	13	10
„ Receipts in Session XXI, viz.:—			
Arrears do. XIX	2	2	0
Do. do. XX	9	9	0
Entrance Fees	2	12	6
Annual Subscriptions, Sess. XXI	92	8	0
Composition for Life Membership	10	10	0
Book Covers	0	0	8
„ Balance due to Treasurer	31	10	3
	£188	6	3

E. & O. E.

JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.*

A. HUME.

B. L. BENAS, F. J. BAILEY, } *Auditors.*

SESSION XXII, 1869-1870.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE *in Account with*

Dr. JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

	£	s.	d.
Balance due Treasurer (1869)	31	10	3
1870.			
Printing and binding Vol. X, N.S.	92	10	3
Stationery, Circulars, &c. (Mr. Brakell)	13	8	0
Ditto (Mr. Walmsley)	9	4	6
Rent (Royal Institution)	10	10	0
Binding Volumes (Mr. Shimmin)	4	5	0
Mr. H. Ecroyd Smith	3	4	0
Petty Expenses (Mr. Dyall)	7	0	0
Insurance (The Royal)	0	16	0
Advertising (The *Courier*)	0	10	0
Mrs. Johnson—Refreshments	9	14	8
Mr. S. Burke—Attendance	2	2	6
Collector's Commission	3	11	5
Postage—Mr. Brakell, for Vol.	0	9	7
Assistant Secretary	25	0	0
Cases repaired at Free Library	0	19	6
Balance of Excursion (Hawkstone)	3	0	0
Postage and Receipt Stamps, &c.	1	12	0
	£219	7	8

Oct., 1870.	£	s.	d.
By Subscriptions received	92	12	4
„ Life Member	5	5	0
„ Received for Volumes	4	5	0
„ Balance due Treasurer	117	5	4
	£219	7	8

E. & O. E.

JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.*

A. HUME.

B. L. BENAS, F. J. BAILEY, } *Auditors.*

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

Abbey of Ystraa Marchill (The). From the Author, M. C. Jones, Esq., F.S.A.

Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln, County of York, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, and Town of Sheffield. Reports and Papers read at Meetings of the.

Antiquarian Society of L'Oûest. Bulletins of.

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Archæological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1870. Journal of.

Birkenhead Free Public Library. Fourteenth Annual Report.

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British Association for the Advancement of Science. Address by Professor Huxley, delivered at Liverpool, Sept. 14th, 1870.

British Association. Statement of Account of the Liverpool Local Fund.

Buckinghamshire, Records of, No. 1, vol. iv.

Buckinghamshire, Proceedings of the Architectural and Archæological Society of. October, 1870.

Cheshire Gentry in 1715. By the Hon. Wilbraham Egerton, M.P.

Colonial Questions pressing for immediate Solution; from the Author, R. A. Macfie, Esq.

Curiosities of Mathematics; from the Author, James Smith, Esq.

Cyclometry and Circle-Squaring in a Nutshell; from the Author, James Smith, Esq.

Elementary Education, Twelve Papers on; from the Author, Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L.

Extracts from the Register of the Parish of Little Budworth; from Sir Philip Egerton.

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Humboldt, Address on the birth of, by Louis Agassiz. Boston, 1869.

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Leeds Philosophical Society. Annual Report for 1869-70.

Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society. Proceedin Twenty-third Session.

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Liverpool Police Establishment Report, with Tabular Returns of t state of Crime.

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Musurdu, Journey to. By B. Anderson, Esq.

Naturalists' Field Club, Liverpool. Proceedings, 1869-70.

Northern Society of Antiquaries, Copenhagen. Proceedings and Pape

Reliques of the Anglo-Saxon Churches of West Kirkby; from t Author, H. Ecroyd Smith, Esq.

Royal Astronomical Society. Papers of the, 6 vols.

Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, vol. v, part 1.

Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society. Thirty-seventh Annual Rep 1869.

Royal Dublin Society. Journal, No. 39.

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Science and Religion, the Connexion between. A Sermon preached during the recent visit of the British Association; from the Author, Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c.

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Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. Proceedings.

Society of Arts. Journal.

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T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, LIVERPOOL.

TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

HISTORIC SOCIETY

OF

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.

NEW SERIES—VOLUME XII.

SESSION 1871-72.

LIVERPOOL:
ADAM HOLDEN, 48, CHURCH STREET.

1872.

LIVERPOOL:
T. BRAKELL, PRINTER, COOK STREET.

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Those whose names are printed in SMALL CAPITALS are M and in *Italics* are Life Members.

Those marked thus * are Resident. The post town Liverpo

A

	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Ainslie, Montague*, Grizedal Windermere.
	11th Feb., 1869.	*Amer, Stephen, Bridge stre
	17th Dec., 1857.	Anderson, Thomas Darnle ham, Surrey.
	12th Jan., 1871.	Andrew, Frank, Apsley H Lyne.
	4th Dec., 1856.	Ansdell, John, St. Helens.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Ansdell, Richard, A.R.A., Alban's road, Kensingto
	15th Sep., 1854.	Arrowsmith, P. R., Wir Cheshire.
H. Sh.	Cheshire, 1857.	*Atkinson, William*, Southpo

B

	2nd Nov., 1865.	*BAILEY, F. J., L.R.C.P., 51,
	8th June, 1854.	*Banning, John Johnson, 20
	7th Feb., 1861.	*Bartlett, William, 22, North
	6th Mar., 1862.	*Bazley, Sir Thomas, Bart.*, and Reform Club, Lond
P.	6th Dec., 1849.	Beamont, William, Warring
	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Bell, Henry, Hamilton squ road, Claughton, Birken
P.	1st Dec., 1864.	*BENAS, B. L., 5, South Ca Upper Parliament street.

	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Bennett, William, Sir Thomas's buildings, and Heysham, near Lancaster.
	7th Mar., 1850.	Birch, Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart., The Hazles, Prescot.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Birchall, Lieut.-Col. Thomas, Ribbleton hall, Preston.
P.	8th Jan., 1852.	Birley, T. Langton, Carr hill, Kirkham.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	Blackburne, John Ireland, The Hall, Hale.
	20th Sept., 1854.	Blackmore, William, Carshalton, Surrey, and Founder's court, Lothbury, London.
	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Blundell, Thomas Weld, Ince Blundell hall, Great Crosby.
	1st May, 1856.	Booth, John Billington, Overleigh house, Preston.
	15th Dec., 1853.	Bossi, Arthur, (Melly, Forget and Co.,) Rumford street.
	3rd Jan., 1856.	*Bouch, Thomas, 1, Oldhall street, and New Brighton.
P.	23rd Nov., 1848.	*Boult, Joseph, F.R.I.B.A., Exchange buildings West, and Parkfield road, Aigburth road.
	15th April, 1858.	*Bower, Anthony, Vauxhall foundry, & Seaforth.
P.	6th Dec., 1855.	Bowes, John, Ph.D., F.R.G.S., Warrington.
P.	3rd Dec., 1868.	Boyle, Henry, M.A., The Firs, Bebington.
P.	12th Dec., 1867.	Boyle, Frederick, F.R.G.S., The Firs, Bebington.
	23rd March, 1871.	*Brakell, T. F., 7, Cook street, and 23, Richmond terrace.
	Mayor L'pool, 1848-9.	*Bramley-Moore, John, Hon. Mem. Archæol. Association, Aigburth.
	30th Dec., 1854.	Brent, Francis, Custom house, Plymouth.
P.	7th May, 1863.	*Bright, E. B., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
P.	9th Mar., 1854.	*Bright, Henry Arthur, A.M., Fairfield, and 1, North John street.
	4th Feb., 1864.	*Bright, Sir Charles Tilston, C.E., F.R.S., 12, Hyde park gardens, London.
	3rd May, 1849.	Brooke, Henry, Forest hill, Northwich.
	6th Mar., 1851.	*Brooks, Sir Richard, Bart.*, Norton priory, Runcorn.
	6th Feb., 1868.	*Brooks, William Cunliffe*, M.P., Barlow hall, near Manchester.
	4th April, 1872	Broughton, Frederick, Brecon, South Wales.
P.	15th Dec., 1853.	*Buxton, David, Ph.Dr., F.R.S.L., Principal of the Liverpool Deaf and Dumb Institution, Oxford street, Hon. Secretary.

C

23rd Nov., 1848. *Caine, Nathaniel, 12, Dutton street.

3rd Dec., 1857. *Calder, Rev. William, A.M., Fairfield.

P. 6th Dec., 1855. Calvert, F. Crace, Ph. Dr., F.R.S., F.C.S., M.R.A.Turin, Chemical Works, Gibson st., Bradford, near Manchester.

3rd Dec., 1857. *Chadburn, Charles Henry, 71, Lord street, and Egremont, Birkenhead.

5th Sept., 1872. Chadwick, David, M.P., 27, Belsize park, London, N.W.

H. Sh. Chesh., 1855-6. *Chapman, John*, Hill End, Mottram-in-Longdendale.

5th Sept., 1872. *Chester, The Lord Bishop of*, The Palace, Chester.

14th April, 1859. *Clement, Leonard*, Nelson-in-Marsden, near Burnley.

24th May, 1855. **Comber, Thomas*, Exchange buildings.

4th Mar., 1858. Crawford and Balcarres, Right Hon. the Earl of, Haigh hall, Wigan.

6th Dec., 1849. *Crosfield, Henry, 4, Temple place, and Aigburth.

23rd Nov., 1848. Crosse, Thomas Bright, Shawe hill, Chorley.

2nd May, 1850. Crossley, James, Cavendish place, All Saints, Manchester.

4th April, 1872. *Crossley, John, Briar's hey, Rainhill.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Cust, General the Hon. Sir Edward*, K.C.H., D.C.L., Leasowe Castle, Cheshire.

D

5th Sept., 1872. Davies, Thomas, Warrington.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Dawson Henry, 14, St. James's road.

P. 2nd May, 1850. *Dawson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. Eng., 26, Rodney street.

23rd April, 1857. *Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of*, K.G., D.C.L., F.R.S., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

9th Mar., 1871. *Dod, Joseph, Bebington.

E

4th April, 1872. Ebury, The Hon. Lord, 35, Park street, Grosvenor square, London.

9th Dec., 1852. *Eckersley, Thomas*, Wigan.

6th Mar., 1862. *Edwards, Edward, Adelaide buildings, Chapel street, and Holly lodge, Fairfield.

7th Jan., 1851. *Egerton, Hon. Wilbraham*, M.P., Rosthern hall, Knutsford.

6th Mar. 1862. *Egerton of Tatton, Rt. Hon. the Lord*, Tatton park, Knutsford.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Egerton, Sir Philip de Malpas Grey*, Bart. M.P., F.R.S., F.G.S., Oulton park, Tarporley,

12th Dec., 1867. *Elsby, Miles Pilling, Bebington.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Evans, Edward, 56, Hanover street.

P. 4th Nov., 1858. *Evans, Edward Francis, 44, St. Domingo vale.

11th Jan., 1872. *Evans, J. R., 56, Hanover street.

5th Sept., 1872. Evans, Joseph, Haydock grange.

F

3rd Dec., 1857. Fairbairn, Sir William, Bart., D.C.L., F.R.S. Manchester.

ffarington, Miss, Worden hall, Preston.

12th Jan., 1871. **Ferguson, Wm.*, F.E.S., 2, St. Aidan's terrace, Claughton, and 4, South John street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Finlay, William, Liverpool College, and Shaw street.

12th Jan., 1871. *Float, G. H., 37, Richmond terrace.

5th Sept., 1872. Flemming, William, Esq.

P. 15th April, 1858. *Forrest, J. A., 58, Lime street, and 5, Charles ville, Claughton, Birkenhead.

12th Jan., 1871. *Fownes, Frederick J., Lord street.

7th May, 1857. *Frackleton, Rev. S. S.*, A.M., Maghera hamlet, Ballynahinch, Ireland.

15th Dec., 1853. *Franks, Augustus Woollaston*, A.M., F.S.A., British Museum, London.

7th Jan., 1858. Frost, Meadows, 25, The Albany, Oldhall street, and St. John's house, Chester.

G

14th Dec., 1848. *Gardner, Richard Cardwell, Colonial buildings, 34, Dale street, and Croxteth road.

3rd May, 1849. Garnett, Wm. J., Quernmore park, Lancaster.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Gaskell, John Rooth, Exchange court, Exchange street East.

11th April, 1867. **Genn John Hawke*, 18, Mersey road, Rock Ferry.

5th Sept., 1872. Gerard, Sir R. T., Garswood hall, Newton-le-Willows.

P. 5th Nov., 1863. *Gibson, Thomas, 51, Oxford street.

6th Mar., 1862. *Gladstone, Right Hon. W. E.*, M.P., 11, Carlton House terrace, London, S. W.

19th Dec., 1852. *Graves, Samuel Robert, M.P., 13, Redcross street, and The Grange, Wavertree.

6th Feb., 1851. Gray, Lieut.-Colonel, M.P., Darcy Lever hall, Bolton.

1st Dec., 1870. Green, Benjamin Lepard, Greenbank, Talbot street, Southport.

4th Dec., 1862. *Green, John Henry*, Buenos Ayres.

16th Sept., 1854. Greene, John Stock Turner, Adlington hall, Chorley.

31st Aug., 1854. Grenside, Rev. William Bent, A.M., Melling Vicarage, Lancaster.

19th Mar., 1857. *Grimmer, W. Henry, Prince's buildings, 30, North John street.

H

1st Dec., 1864. *Haigh, Thomas, 47, Boundary lane.

P. 6th Mar., 1856. Hardwick, Chas., 74, Halston street, Hulme, Manchester.

12th Jan., 1854. *Harrison, Wm.*, F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.S. North. Antiq., &c., Samlesbury hall, Preston; Conservative Club, St. James's, S.W.; and R.T.Y. Club, Albemarle street, London, W.

9th Feb., 1864. *Harrowby, Rt. Hon. the Earl of*, D.C.L., F.R.S., Sandon hall, Staffordshire, and 39, Grosevnor square, London.

23rd April, 1857. *Hartington, Most Hon. the Marquess of*, M.P., Chatsworth, Derbyshire, and Devonshire house, London.

8th Dec., 1864. Heald, Thomas, Greenfield, Billinge, Wigan.

30th Nov., 1871. *Heffer, E. A., 2, Dale street.

24th Oct., 1854. Heginbottom, George, Birkdale park, Southport.

2nd April, 1868. *Hewitt, James, 1, Dover street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Heywood, James*, F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S., 26, Kensington Palace gardens, London, W.

23rd Sept., 1854. *Hindmarsh, Fred.*, F.G.S., F.R.G.S., 4, New Inn, Strand, London, W.C.

5th Sept., 1872. *Hinmers, W.*, Cleveland house, Birkdale, Southport

12th Jan., 1871. Hirst, John, jun., Dobcross, Saddleworth, near Manchester.

12th Jan., 1860. *Holden, Adam, 48, Church street.

18th Dec., 1856. *Holden, Thomas*, Springfield, Bolton.

Feb., 1871. *Holder, F. W., Hemingford terrace, Conway street, Birkenhead.

24th Sept., 1854. *Holt, William D., 23, Edge lane.

11th Jan., 1872. *Holme, James, 109, Mount pleasant.

5th Sept., 1872. Hornby, T. D., Druid's cross, Woolton.

23rd Nov., 1848. Horsfall, Thomas Berry, Bellamour hall, Rugeley, Staffordshire.

6th Dec., 1860. *Houghton, James, Barnston towers, Neston.

14th April, 1853. **Houghton, Richard H.*, Sandheys, Waterloo.

4th Dec., 1856. *Howell, Edward, 26, Church street.

Mayor Lan., 1849-50. Howitt, Thomas, Lancaster.

P. 8th Nov., 1849. *Howson, Very Rev. John Saul, D.D.*, The Deanery, Chester, VICE-PRESIDENT.

P. 10th Dec., 1857. *HUGHES, JOHN R., 17, Tower chambers, HON. LIBRARIAN.

6th April, 1854. Hughes, Thomas, 2, Groves terrace, Chester.

Mayor Ch., 1851-52. Humberston, Philip Stapleton, Glan-y-Mern, Denbigh.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. **Hume, Rev. Abraham*, D.C.L., LL.D., F.S.A., F.R.S. North. Antiq. Copenhagen, Corr. Mem. S.A. Scot., Hon. Mem. of the Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 6, Rupert lane, PRESIDENT.

21st May, 1857. *Hume, Hamilton*, F.R.G.S., Cooma, Yass, New South Wales.

30th Nov., 1871. *Hutton, David, 61, Canning street.

10th Feb., 1870. Hyde, John, Hesketh street, Southport.

J

1st April, 1852. *JACOB, JOHN GIBBORN, 56, Church street, TREASURER.

5th Sept., 1872. *Jackson, Sir W.*, 61, Portland place, London.

5th Dec., 1861. Jackson, William, Fleatham house, St. Bees.

23rd Nov., 1848. Jacson, Charles R., Barton hall, Preston.

P. 2nd May, 1861. *Jeffery, F. J., 17, Siddeley street.

23rd Nov., 1848. Johnson, John H., Southport.

23rd Sept., 1854. Jones, Edward, The Larches, Handsworth.

3rd May, 1849. *Jones, Morris Charles, F.S.A., F.S.A. Scot., 20, Abercromby square.

2nd Dec., 1858. *Jones, Robert, 7, Batchelor street.

6th Dec., 1849. *Jones, Roger L., Sunnyside, 1, Belvidere road, Prince's park.

15th Sept., 1854. Jones, Thomas, B.A., F.S.A., Chetham Library, Manchester.

9th Jan., 1868. JONES, REV. CHARLES, Rock Ferry.

K

P. 3rd May, 1849. Kendrick, James, M.D., Warrington.

P. 5th March, 1868. *Kilpin, T. J., Trafford chambers, 58, South John street, and 6, Grove street.

4th Dec., 1862. *King, Lieut-Col. Vincent Ashfield, 18, Tower chambers, and Point of Ayr, Oxton.

5th Nov., 1863. *King, John Thomson, Clayton Square.

L

6th March, 1862. *Laird, John, M.P., Hamilton square, Birkenhead.

23rd Nov., 1848. Langton, William, Manchester and Salford Bank, Manchester.

5th Sept., 1872. *Ledward, Septimus*, Hill bank, Frankby.

23rd Nov., 1848. Legh, G. Cornwall, M.P., High Legh, Knutsford.

1st Dec., 1859. *Legh, W. J.*, M.P., Lyme park, Disley, Stockport.

10th Dec., 1857. *Leigh, Col. Egerton*, Jodrell hall, Holmes Chapel.

1st Nov., 1866. *Lilley, John H., H.M. Customs, Revenue buildings.

M

27th Sept., 1854. *Macfie, Robert Andrew, M.P., Dreghorn, Colinton, Edinburgh.

6th March, 1862. McCorquodale, Lieut.-Colonel G., The Willows, Newton-le-Willows.

15th April, 1858. *McInnes, J., 23, Lightbody street.

23rd Nov., 1848. *M'Quie, Peter Robinson, 9, Brunswick street, and Thornton lodge, Merton road, Bootle,

5th May, 1853. **Macrae, John Wrigley*, 22, Hackin's hey, and Seaforth house, Seaforth.

1st Dec., 1859. Marsh, John, Rann lea, Rainhill.

P. 5th June, 1851. Marsh John Fitchett, Fairfield house, Warrington.

1st Dec., 1864. Marson, James, Hill Cliff, Warrington.

5th Sept., 1872. *Mason, Hugh*, Ashton-under-Lyne.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Mayer, Joseph, F.S.A., M.R. Asiat. S., F.E.S., F.R.S. North. Ant. Copenhagen, Associé étranger de la Société Impériale des Antiquaires de France, Hon. Mem. SS. Anti., Normandie, l'Oûest, la Morinie, Sociéte d'Emulation d'Abbeville, &c., 68, Lord street, Vice-President.

7th Dec., 1865. Miller, Henry, Garston.

2nd Jan., 1862. *Milligan, James, jun., Eldwood End, Grassendale, Aigburth.

P. 21st Dec., 1854. *Milner, William, Bentley road, and Phœnix Safe Works, Windsor.

3rd Dec., 1857. Moore, Rev. Richard R., A.M, St. Anne's, Eccleston, St. Helens.

P. 8th Nov., 1849. Moore, Rev. Thomas, A.M., Midleton college, County of Cork.

P. 23rd Nov., 1848. *Moss, Rev. John James*, LL.D., East Lydford Rectory, Somerset.

4th April, 1872. *Moss, Sir Thomas Edwards, Bart., Roby hall.

3rd Dec., 1863. Moubert, Adolphus, Garswood-Ashton, Warrington.

11th Dec., 1856. Myres, John James, 26, Glover's court, Preston.

N

H. S. Ches., 1857. *Naylor, Richard*, Hooton hall, Chester.

23rd Nov., 1848. Nicholson, James, F.S.A., Thelwall hall, Warrington.

29th Sept., 1854. *Nottingham, John, M.D., F.R.A.S., F.R.S. Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, 20, Roscommon street.

5th Sept., 1872. Norreys, R. H., J.P., D.L., Davy-Hulme hall, Lancaster.

O

P. 6th Dec., 1849. Ormerod, George, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S. Sedbury park, Chepstow.

3rd Jan., 1850. *Overend, James, 55, Hope street.

P

23rd Nov., 1858. *Paris, Thomas Jeremiah, 68, Lord street.

18th Dec., 1856. Parker, Robert Townley, Cuerdon hall, Preston.

P. 12th Jan., 1871. Paterson, James, Warrington.

7th Mar., 1850. *Patten, Right Hon. John Wilson*, M.P., Bank hall, Warrington.

6th Dec., 1849. Pearce, George Massie, Hackin's hey, and Ormskirk.

9th Feb., 1871. Pearson, John E., Golborne park, near Newton-le-Willows.

11th Dec., 1856. *Pedder, Henry Newsham*, 9, Queen's gate, Prince Albert road, South Kensington, London, S.

21st Mar., 1860. *Petty, Thomas Shaw*, Preston.

6th Jan., 1849. *Picton, James Allanson, F.S.A., Queen bldgs., Dale street, and Sandyknowe, Wavertree.

3rd May, 1849. Pierpoint, Benjamin, St. Austin's, Warrington.

23rd Nov., 1848. Pilkington, James, Park pl. house, Blackburn.

10th Feb., 1853. *Platt, Robert*, Stalybridge.

1st Dec., 1864. *Porter, John, Clayton square.

12th Mar., 1857. *Preston, Geo. Theo. Robert, 13, Vernon street, Dale st., and Belmont house, Belmont rd.

14th Jan., 1864. *Priest, Thomas E., Clarendon rooms, South John street.

R

15th Mar., 1849. Rawlinson, Robert, C.B., C.E., F.G.S., Sanitary Commissioner, Local Government Act Office, 8, Richmond terrace, Whitehall; and Lancaster lodge, Boltons, West Brompton.

13th Sept., 1854. *Raynes, James Trevelyan, 37, Oldhall street, and Rock park, Rock Ferry.

P. 29th Dec., 1854. Rees, William, 4, Cavendish place, All Saints, Manchester.

3rd Dec., 1863. Rhodocanakis, H.I.H., the Prince, G.C.G., G.K.S., C.K.G., Ph.D., &c., Clarendon hotel, New Bond street, London.

P. 30th Nov., 1871. Rimmer, Alfred, Watergate row, Chester.

23rd Feb., 1871. Robinson, George S., The Greenaw, New Brighton.

20th Dec., 1855. Robin, Rev. P. R., A.M., Woodchurch, Birkenhead.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Robinson, Charles Backhouse.

1st Dec., 1864. *Robinson, John, 41, Lord street.

15th April, 1858. Rowlinson, W., Windermere.

25th Sept., 1854. Rylands, Peter, M.P., Bewsey house, Warrington.

P. 13th Dec., 1854. Rylands, Thomas Glazebrook, F.L.S., F.G.S., Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington, Vice-President.

3rd Nov., 1870. Rylands, John Paul, Highfields, Thelwall, near Warrington.

S

21st March, 1872. *Salisbury, Most Noble the Marquess of*, Hatfield, Herts.

6th Dec., 1855. *Sandbach, W. R., Bank buildings, Cook street, and The Cottage, Aigburth.

5th Sept., 1872. *Sefton, Right Hon. the Earl of, Croxteth hall.

2nd June, 1853. *Sharp, William*, Fairsnape Sheen Mount, Mortlake, Surrey.

23rd Nov., 1848. *Simpson, Rev. Samuel*, A.M., The Greaves, near Lancaster.

4th April, 1872. Skelmersdale, Lord, Lathom house, Ormskirk.

P. 20th Feb., 1868. *SMITH, SAMUEL, JUN., 8, Croxteth road, Prince's park.

3rd Jan., 1856. *Staniforth, Rev. Thomas*, M.A., Storrs, Windermere.

5th Feb., 1863. Steele, Alexander, LL.D., Strathallan hall, Douglas, Isle of Man.

13th Dec., 1855. *Steiner, F.*, Hyndburn, Accrington.

4th Mar., 1852. *Sykes, James, 115, Dale street, 78, Rodney street, and Breck house, Poulton-le-Fylde.

T

5th Sept., 1872. *Taylor, James*, Whitby hall, Wigan.

18th Nov., 1869. *Thomas, George, 1, Rhoda Villas, Rock lane, Rock Ferry.

13th Sept., 1854. *Thornley, Samuel, 27, Southhill road, Toxteth park.

17th Jan., 1867. *Thorp, Henry*, Whalley Range, Manchester.

P. 8th Dec., 1851. *Tinne, John A., F.R.G.S., Briarley, Aigburth.

8th Jan., 1852. *Torr, John, 15, Exchange buildings West, and Eastham.

H.S. Lanc., 1857. Towneley, Charles, Towneley, Burnley.

P. 2nd April, 1857. *TOWSON, JOHN THOMAS, F.R.G.S., 47, Upper Parliament street, and Sailors' Home.

14th April, 1863. *Turner, Charles, M.P., 4, Lancelot's hey, and Dingle head.

6th Dec., 1849. Turner, Edward, High street, Newcastle, Staffordshire.

V

23rd Nov., 1848. **Varty, Thomas*, Stag-stones, Penrith.

16th Dec., 1869. Vaudrey, Benjamin Llewellyn, Tushingham hall, Whitchurch.

4th April, 1872. Vaudrey, Rev. D., Darley Rectory, Matlock.

14th April, 1853. *Vose, James, M.D., 5, Gambier terrace, Hope street.

W

Myr. C. 1838-39, 48-49. *Walker, Sir Edward Samuel*, Berry hill, Mansfield, Notts.

11th Dec., 1856. *Walmsley, Thomas*, Preston.

12th Dec., 1867. *Walmsley, Gilbert G., Lord street.

6th Mar., 1851. Warburton, Rowland Eyles Egerton, Arley hall, Cheshire.

21st May, 1857. Ward, John Angus, Hooton lodge, Chester.

3rd May, 1864. *Waterhouse, John Dockray, 1, Oldhall street.

P. 5th Dec., 1861. *Waterhouse, Nicholas, Durning road.

17th Dec., 1857. Watts, Sir James, Manchester.

2nd May, 1850. *Way, Albert*, A.M., F.S.A., Wonham manor, Reigate, Surrey.

1st Feb., 1849. *Webster, George, 6, York buildings, Dale street, and Mossley hill, Aigburth.

P. 3rd Jan., 1856. *Welton, Thomas A.*, F.S.S., 6, Offerton road, London, S.W.

13th Mar., 1862. Westminster, Most Noble the Marquess of, K.G., 33, Upper Grosvenor street, London, and Eaton hall, Chester.

2nd June, 1853. *Whitley, George, 5, Clayton square, and Bromborough.

9th Oct., 1854. Whitley, Rev. John, A.M., Newton rectory, Newton-le-Willows.

6th June, 1850. Whitley, Rev. William, B.A., Catsclough, Winsford, Cheshire.

P. 30th Nov., 1854. WILKINSON, THOMAS TURNER, F.R.A.S., Corr. Mem. Lit. and Phil. Soc. Manch., Burnley.

14th Feb., 1861. Wilson, J. M., Hardshaw street, St. Helens.

12th Jan., 1871. *Wilson, Edward J., Custom house, Liverpool.

13th Nov., 1866. *Winder, Thomas, Coniston house, Walton.

23rd Nov., 1848. Wood, Isaac Moreton, Newton, near Middlewich.

7th Dec., 1865. *Wood, R. H.*, F.S.A., F.R.G.S., Mem. Corr. Soc. Antiq. de Normandie, Crumpsall, Manchester.

7th May, 1855. * *Woodhouse, John George*, Bronte house, Everton valley.

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	9th Dec., 1852.	MacAdam, Robert, 18, College square East, Belfast.
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This Volume has been edited by the Assistant Secretary, under the direction of the Council. The Writers of Papers are solely responsible for the facts and opinions contained in their respective communications.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

The wood engravings illustrating Mr. Beamont's paper on the "Fee of Makerfield," were kindly lent by Wm. Langton, Esq., of Manchester. The other illustrations were prepared at the expense of the Society.

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TRANSACTIONS.

THE *HIDE* OF LAND.

By Joseph Boult, F.R.I.B.A.

(Read 2nd November, 1871.)

The student of Domesday Book finds the terms ther applied to land, as indicative of value or extent, very p plexing. Mention is made of hides and part of a hide— half and the third; of carucates and half-carucates; of v gates and half-virgates; of bovates or oxgangs; of acres; leagues, miles, and perches; and if he extends his inqu beyond that part of the book which refers to Cheshire a Lancashire, he will meet with arpents, ferdings, and masur and in the Kent portion with solins and jugums.

Of the value of these several denominations he will fi but little indication; and while he will probably infer that are superficial measures, except leagues and miles, and sor times perches, he will find acres are named as measures length! For example, in Hautone, Cheshire, was a wo five acres long and two broad; in Boleberie, in the sa county, another wood, one league long and an acre broa and in Eston, also in Cheshire, the wood was half a leag long and an acre broad.

If he seek explanation from commentators, or from Cange and other glossographers, he will be told that a h

is a portion of land, as much as suffices for the ploughing of one plough per annum; and he will find the same quantity assigned to the carucate and to the bovate; yet should he hastily assume that these quantities are identical he may repent at leisure, for he will find much in Domesday Book which is inconsistent with the inference. Whilst in Weaverham there were but 13 hides, there were 18 carucates; in Dunham 3 hides and 9 carucates: in Utkinton 2 hides and 2 carucates; in Over 1 hide and 5 carucates; in Budworth half a hide and 2 carucates; and in Eastham 22 hides and 22 carucates. Between the Ribble and the Mersey, in Waletone, the land was 2 carucates and 3 bovates.

But Domesday supplies yet more conflicting testimony. Hutchins, quoted by Sir H. Ellis, says, that amongst the possessions of Goisfridus de Werce, in Leicestershire, we read that he held Medeltone; there are 7 hides and a carucate of land, and a bovate, in each hide 13½ carucates. In the same county, under Cileby, Ogerus Brito held of the king two parts of a hide, that is 12 carucates. Under Terra Episcopi Constantiens in Gloucestershire, it is said, the Bishop held a manor of a hide, and Goismer of him; in that hide, when it is ploughed, are not less than 84 acres of land.* Between the Ribble and the Mersey, it is distinctly stated that there are 6 carucates in each hide. Further, a distinction is recorded by the surveyors between the hide English, and the hide Welsh.

If the various areas which have been ascribed to the hide be compared in acres, the discrepancy is very glaring, ranging from the 20 acres of Polydore Vergil to the 120 acres of Agard; the intermediate stages being 30, 33⅓, 63, 64, 96, and 100 acres.†

* Domesd. tom. 1, fol. 165, quoted by Ellis, Int. Domesd. vol. 1, p. 145.

† Mr. Morgan, quoted by Mr. Pearson, makes the range of variation from 64 to 360 acres, *Hist. England* I., App. B., where further information on the use of the Hide may be found, pp. 654-657.

If a similar comparison be made of the areas ascribed to the carucate, the range will be found from 60 by 100, 112, 150, and 160 to 180 acres, whilst Agard says it was equal to the hide; and we read that in Clive, in Cheshire, the Earl held Sanbec for 2½ virgates, Clive for 1 virgate, Suton for 4 bovates, Wibaldeslai for 1 virgate, Wever for 1 virgate, and Aculvestune for 1 hide; that six freemen held these lands for six manors, and that the land amongst them was 7 carucates.

The area ascribed to the bovate ranges from 8 acres to 16 or 17 acres; it is also said by one author to be one-eighth of a carucate, and by another to be equal to the hide. It is clear from these comparisons that those denominations never could be synonymous or equivalents; that is, all representing as much land as could be ploughed, or cultivated, with one plough and its team of oxen in a year; unless it be assumed that the discrepancies arise from varieties of plough and soil, or are due to variations in the size of the acre, there being noted differences between the various provincial or customary acres, and between them and the statute acre.

Until recently the plough was a primitive implement, and there was little variation in the extent of land which could be ploughed in a year with one plough. Mr. Pusey, in reporting the results of experiments with a team of Clydesdale horses in comparison with one of his own county, gives the latter as three-quarters of an acre upon strong ground, sometimes as much as 1 acre upon the lightest, whilst the daily task of the Scotch horses upon strong land was 1¼ acre; and this quantity, equal to a Scotch acre, was stated to be the usual day's work in their native district. Commenting on this, Mr. Balmer says he has always found an English acre enough for a pair of horses from 1st November to about 1st March; after that, the horses are able to work ten hours, and there is little difficulty in ploughing 1½ acre; much, however, depends on the nature of the soil, and the size of the field, as a great

deal of time is lost in turning when the field is small. Upon the whole, on *dry land*, a pair of horses will do a Scotch acre, *i.e.*, 1¼ statute acre per day during the year.

In a report upon Stinchcombe farm, Gloucestershire, Mr. Morton says there are constantly employed eight men and eight boys, to work the teams of oxen and horses, consisting of twelve oxen and four horses. Two oxen are put to a plough, with a boy to drive them, besides a man to hold the plough; and thus six ox-ploughs and two horse-ploughs can be worked at the same time, a strength more than equal for all the work required in cultivating these 200 acres of arable land.* In Cornwall, sixty years ago, a plough team usually consisted of four oxen, some of six, or of four with a horse to lead; and three-quarters of an acre was considered a day's work.† A true ploughland would probably average 25 acres, statute, that being apparently as much as one yoke of oxen can keep in perfect cultivation throughout the year, much more than mere ploughing being requisite for that purpose.

It is pretty clear there is considerable confusion as to the values represented by the different terms applied by the authors of the Great Survey to the various holdings recorded therein; and, unfortunately, the state of the country at the time of the survey is so imperfectly described, that little assistance can be drawn from the description itself; but the condition of Ireland at the time of its settlement under the Commonwealth scheme—the Plantation, as it is called—presents a parallel, which probably resembles England after the Norman conquest; and as the condition of Ireland has been pretty fully described, a reference to it may be of assistance. The Great Survey of Ireland included the forfeited lands in Leinster, Munster, and Ulster, and was conducted by Dr., afterwards Sir William, Petty, and subsequently first

* *Journ. R. Agr. Soc.*, vol. 1., p. 239 and p. 402.

† *Gen. View Agr. Cornwall*, by G. B. Worgan, p. 146.

Baron Shelburne, a collateral ancestor of the Lansdowne family; a claim to participation in the credit of the survey being preferred on behalf of Thomas Taylour, ancestor of the Marquis of Headfort. The survey is known as the Down survey, from having been laid *down* in the map form, to distinguish it from the Strafford, the Civil, and Gross surveys, which were recorded in schedules or tables. In Ireland, as in England, a large extent is described as "waste," and an important object of the Down survey was to distinguish between the profitable and unprofitable lands, for the purpose of an equitable allotment of the forfeited lands among the officers and soldiers of the army in satisfaction of claims for arrears of pay; a further advantage being anticipated in the maintenance of British rule by immigrants of that description. The county of Kerry appears among those parts which had suffered most from the cruel warfare; and in June, 1656, Lewis Smith, one of the two surveyors or admeasurers of land to whom had been entrusted the details of that county, addressed humble proposals to the Lord Protector's Council for the Affairs of Ireland, in which he narrated some of the difficulties he and his colleagues had encountered.

He says:—

When we came first in the country, we viewed the place in a general way, considering the lands to be exceedingly bad, and were about not to return any part as profitable except only arable and good pasture, though our instructions mentioned several kinds of pasture, which did include and reach the worst, viz., rocky, fursy, heathy, mountain, and bog, &c., but yet it was so bad we intended to proceed. But then, coming to the more remote . . . . . we were at a loss, for the like quantity we were about to return unprofitable in the more habitable places was even as good as many whole denominations (except some small spots of arable that were in some of them), and yet going by the name of ploughlands and parishes, &c.; some men's whole estates consisting of such like; some of the said denominations wholly without arable. So we did not know what to do, but were very inquisitive of those who had been inhabitants of those places, and of our bounders;

and we did clearly see that something might be made of them again, if stocked with cattle; and that it was not safe to take upon ourselves to cast away townlands, parishes, nay, even almost baronies, wholly for unprofitable. Although we did at first so judge, having never been in the like places before, yet having information of the aforesaid, and seeing that the places were returned in the abstracts as ploughlands and parishes, and were some men's whole estates, and that the said coarse ploughlands formerly paid contribution or taxes with the rest of the country, when the same was levied by ploughlands, therefore we could not but judge these places good for something, and resolved to make something of them. . . . . When we came to present the difficulties concerning the quality of the lands, we lighted, to all intents and purposes, upon one and the same way in distinguishing the lands into three sorts or parts, viz., arable and good pasture, coarse pasture, and unprofitable, before seeing or hearing from each other, and so consulted concerning the premises, and resolved to put in execution our former purposes, viz., to measure exactly each denomination, and then to consider the quality thereof, and to run out by chain and instrument all bog and mountain that our bounders (and with the best information we could get on the place) did call wholly unprofitable, that was, without dispute, according to our and their judgment; and to distinguish all the arable and good pasture land, and good wood, from the rest of the coarse or middling sort of land, which we did not know what to do with, but did consider how many acres of that coarse land was worth one acre of good grazing land in those places where they lay, judging that to be the most fit and absolute way, with the advice of the chief inhabitants. There being almost the same rule before us, which was of ancient standing, namely, the division into ploughlands, one ploughland being great and another small, as they were in goodness and badness; for many of the ploughlands were but seventy and eighty acres, others two or three hundred, and others 2,000, sometimes 3 or 4,000 acres. Now, at the first division of ploughlands, they did endeavour to make them equal in value to each other; but much of the coarse ploughlands being bog, in process of time the inhabitants have improved some of the same, and made it fit to bear corn, so that in one of these great ploughlands there will be as much arable now as in one of the small, besides the number of cattle the great ploughlands are able to graze above the small. Ordinarily and usually, the large ploughlands are better than the small, so that we could not set down any general rule to proceed by ploughlands; and then, many of them

were wholly without arable, or any good pasture, and sometimes none that we could call absolutely unprofitable. Therefore we did value whether ten, twenty, thirty, or the like, were worth one acre of good grazing land in that parish or barony, and so consequently did proceed in the like sort throughout the whole country.*

It will be observed that Smith makes mention of ploughlands "wholly without arable," showing that the word ploughland was used technically. The picture of the difficulties attending this survey would be incomplete if the piteous appeal were omitted with which Smith concludes his letter:—

So that I think we are not blameworthy, but ought rather to be considered, having the most intricate piece of work, and spent more time than any, and worked as hard as any, and were at more charges than any admeasurers in Ireland. Indeed, we were no otherwise than slaves, our wages not bearing our charges by many pounds; and for all our care and diligence, we cannot please our masters. If a torment had been invented, never could have been greater, short of death; for we have lost our time, and men do their endeavours to take away our good name; and all this while we are clear, as we hope your lordships will now be satisfied, and will see an absolute necessity in finding out a mean between the two extremes in setting out the lands in Kerry.†

In conjunction with the variations noticed by Smith in the size of ploughlands, may be recorded the great differences in the baronies also. From schedules given in the same volume, it appears that the range is from 1,414a. 30p. in Half Rathdown, Co. Wicklow, to 175,268a. 2r. 29p. in Carbury, Co. Cork. It is noticeable that the Half Rathdown, Co. Dublin, is returned as containing 11,400a. 1r. 37p., so that the term Half does not imply anything like an equal division superficially. At the time of the partition, the productive values of the two halves *may* have been nearly equal. The

* *The Hist. of the Survey of Ireland, commonly called the Down Survey.* By Dr. William Petty. A.D. 1655-6. Edited, &c., &c., by Thomas Aiskew Larcom, F.R.S., M.R.I.A., Major R.E. Dublin, for the Archæological Society, 1851. Pp. 94-7. Major Larcom has been created a baronet in recognition of his valuable public services.

† *Ibid.*, p. 100.

smallest baronies after Half Rathdown, Wicklow, are those of Callen Liberties, Co. Kilkenny, returned at 2,122 acres, and Kilmallock Town and Liberties, Co. Limerick, at 2,142a. 3r. 12p.*

The surveyors were instructed "to sett downe the number "of acres contained in the said denomination or parcell of "land, according to an exact admeasurement, at 21 feet to "the pole, and one hundred and sixty poles to the acre."† This measure is considerably in excess of statute measure, the pole of which is only 16½ feet, and thus the colonists were much favoured. In Ireland this measure has superseded, I believe, every other, except the Statute and Cunningham measures. It is known as the Plantation Measure, from its use in the settling, colonizing, or planting of the country from Great Britain; it is used in various parts of South Britain, and is known by a variety of appellations. I have not been able to learn why it was selected for the Down survey.

It is now desirable to consider the suggestions of various commentators upon the word *hide*. Selden says, "the just "value of a hide that might fit the whole kingdom never "appears from Domesday, and was ever of uncertain quantity."‡ Mr. Beamont supposes the idea of quantity came to be associated with the word at the first levying of the Danegelt, when every vill was roughly estimated to contain one or more hides, or some proportion of them."§ In Du Cange it is suggested that the word is derived from the Saxon hythen, *quod est tegere*. According to Bosworth, the A. S. word is hydan, but this etymon appears eminently unsatisfactory. Mr. Kemble considers the word hide is the contracted and almost universal form of higid.|| The A. S. equivalent for

* *Ibid.*, pp. 137-153. † *Ibid.*, p. 36. ‡ *Tit. Hon.*, p. 622.
§ *Lit. Exten. and Trans.* Domesd. B., Ches. and Lanc., p. xxix.
|| *The Saxons in England.* I. 91.

hide is *hiwisc*, the primary meaning of which, according to Bosworth, is a family, family property, from *Hiw*, a colour, a family; consequently the hiwisc was probably equivalent to the Roman heredium, that is, the land allotted for each household; or perhaps a patrimony, the extent depending upon fertility and other causes. Bosworth gives hide as the secondary meaning of hiwisc, which is very possibly a derivative from the first, and indicative of the primary meaning of the word, with which ultimately it became synonymous when applied to land. The literal meaning of hiwisc is house-ish, or domestic, the second part of the word, *isc*, being the original of the modern adjectival termination, *ish*. The word survives in the simple or compound form in the names of various places, as Huish and Huyshe; and in surnames, derived probably from one place or the other. I apprehend, however, that hide is really a Celtic word in Teutonic dress; and the transformation is very explicable: it seems to represent *eid*, a tax or tribute, and in the form of aids or subsidies is familiar in English history. I think the Commons have granted aids within the current century, and that their disuse is due to the funding system. The Teuton would naturally suppose the sounds *a*, *e*, (the Celtic *e* and *i*,) to represent the diphthong *æ*, with which, in his language, the letter *y* is mutable, and thus the *eid* (or aid) would become *yd*, or *hide*. The Irish language presents another curious illustration of the origin I venture to assign for the word hide, in *arcis*, rendered by O'Reilly as hide, which appears to be compounded of two words: *ar*; ploughing, and *cis*, rent, thus denoting a rent for ploughing. Allied to this is *airdchios*, chief rent, head rent, tribute, compounded of *aird*, a coast, or region, also state, order; and *cios*, rent, tribute, revenue, tax: *airdchios* may therefore be regarded as equivalent for land tax. The use of the word aid, or hide, probably preceded the incursions of the Danes, and even the

Saxon era, by some centuries; and, having regard to the Roman practice of imposing tribute on the vanquished, the introduction of the tax is very likely as old at least as their epoch. From the earliest period of its slightest record, South Britain appears as the resort of foreigners, who have either traded for its mineral and other exports, or have taken possession by conquest. To the present date that resort continues in the first form from regions more distant than those of the Greeks or Phœnicians. The inhabitants were thus early inured to the knowledge and practice of that payment of tribute, or taxes, from which their most recent descendants are not exempt. Some curious illustrations have been preserved. The Welsh for tin, *alcan*, when analysed yields Celtic *al* and *can*, signifying tribute rock, very suggestive of sufferings like those inflicted on Mexicans and Peruvians by the Spanish thirst for gold. So the Cangi, whose name is best preserved through being stamped on certain ingots or bars of lead, do not appear to have been a tribe of that name, of uncertain locality, but that portion of various tribes by whom tribute was paid, if, indeed, the name does not rather belong to the ingots themselves as constituting tribute.* And the name of Mevagissey,† in Cornwall, if correctly rendered—the tribute-defeat-stream—records an effort to escape an impost. Of Roman taxation, Dr. Smith says, the tribute imposed upon foreign countries was by far the most important branch of the public revenue during the time of Rome's greatness. It was sometimes raised at once, sometimes paid by instalments, and sometimes changed into a poll-tax, which was in many cases regulated according to the census. In regard to Cilicia and Syria, we know this tax amounted to one per cent. of a person's census (that is, his *real* property), to which a tax upon houses and slaves was added. In some

* Celtic, *cana*, tribute, amercement.

† Celtic, *meibhad-geis-sa*.

cases the tribute was not paid according to the census, but consisted of a land tax.* In England the Roman exactions appear to have taken the form, in part, of supplies of provisions, which were deposited in various places appointed for the purpose. Perhaps some of these places were those which now bear the name of Cold Harbour, of which it has been ascertained there are upwards of seventy.† That name I suppose to be derived from C. *caol-de-arbhar*, signifying a gathering or collection of corn, that is, a granary. The name Barton seems to have a similar significance, C. *bar-dun* the corn place; and from Domesday we learn that places there named were constituted berewicks, possibly by the Teutonic and Scandinavian rulers. Of places so named, however, Berwick-upon-Tweed does not appear to have had another name. Allied to Cold Harbour appear the various forms of Caldecot, which are also numerous, referrible also to the Celtic, as *caol-de-coth*, collection of meat or victuals, or possibly *caol-de-ceath*, collection of sheep, and so denoting the places where collections of animals or animal food and wool were formed. It must be remembered that parts of Britain, during the Roman occupation, were highly civilized, and doubtless the form of exaction varied with the condition of the people and their productive power. Similarly, the amount of the tribute would vary; in towns and more civilized parts it may have approximated to the taxation of the Italian cities, whilst among the tribes barely subjugated it may have been modified as the tribe was submissive, or the reverse. If it were levied in one sum, its apportionment amongst a tribe may have been left to its rulers; on a fresh outbreak, the amount may have been increased, whilst submission and friendly aid may have been rewarded by deductions; internecine conflicts, or intermarriages, producing the aggregation

* *Dict. Greek and Roman Antiq.*, in *V. Vectigalia.*

† *Hartshorn's Salopia.*

of the possessions of two or more tribes by one: and thus as possessions accumulated so would eids. Then there is the process of subdivision by conquest, by distribution among children, by grants to faithful friends and allies. Not that the estates were alienated; in all probability the fee, to use a legal phrase, vested in the tribe, as in Rome in the people; and so the grants would be subject to the performance of stipulated or implied service, in fact, originating the practice which has assumed the form of copyhold tenure. Instances of this appear to be referred to in Domesday Book; for example, in West Derby we read three of these hides, the tax whereof King Edward remitted to the thanes who held them, were free. According to Thorpe, folcland could not be alienated in perpetuity, and therefore, on the expiration of the term for which it had been granted, it reverted to the community, and was again distributed by the same authority.* The distinction between folcland and bocland is pithily defined by Spelman:—"Prædia Saxones duplici titulo possidebant, "vel scripta auctoritate, quod bocland vocabant; vel populi "testimonio quod folcland dixere." The date at which manors were originated, or were introduced into these islands, is quite undetermined; almost every entry in Domesday Book has mention of demesne lands, many of them styled ancient; and, while Coke says the Saxons were unacquainted with these manors, he adds, "yet in effect they had manors "in those days, in circumstance, peradventure, something "varying in substance, surely nothing different from our "manors at this day; they wanted neither demesnes nor "services, the two material causes of a manor, as Fulbeck "termeth them. Their demesnes they termed the Inlands, "because the lords kept them in their own hands, and enjoyed "them in their own possession; their service they termed the "Utlands, because those lands were in the manurance and

* *Anc. Laws and Inst.*, Gloss. in v.

"occupation of certain tenants, who, in consideration of the "profits arising out of these lands, were bound to perform "unto their lords certain duties and services."* The utlands, or outlands, according to Thorpe, are identical with the geneat-lands, which were granted for services or rent.†

Considering how universal is the mention of manors throughout Domesday Book, it seems impossible not to admit that a lengthened period must have elapsed between their original introduction and the Great Survey, in which I am not aware that any other name than that of domain, or desmesne, lands has been applied to them. This word is usually assumed to be of Norman-French origin, but this assumption is due apparently to the way in which the earlier and more native Celtic element has been ignored; as though the history and influence of a race who possessed the country for many centuries could be wholly wiped out—as though they had been swept away by successive waves of invaders. But records remain of their extended influence in the names of rivers, hills, towns, and villages; and in the laws, adopted or imposed by each band of conquerors, there is evidence of numbers which could not be exterminated, nor even wholly absorbed. No doubt many retreated before the Romans to the western margin of the island, or fled to Ireland and the Scottish lowlands; but many, probably the bulk, remained, either as foes, or friends, or serfs. So, also, of the Normans; they could not eradicate the people they found in the country. If neither the Romans nor the Normans could clear, or did not wish to clear, away all those they found in the country, it is difficult to conceive how the Teutons or Scandinavians

* *The Compleat Copyholder: being a Discourse of the Antiquity and Nature of Manors and Copyholds, &c.;* 1764, p. 2.

† *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, and *Bosworth's Dict.*, in v. —The word *neat* is derived from *nyt*, useful, convenient, needful, and was applied to cattle as necessaries, during life as beasts of burden, and after death as food, clothing, and otherwise.

should do so. In fact, it appears that the Saxon scribes have greatly exaggerated the numbers and achievements of their compatriots, and that too much credence has been given to their tales. All the so-called history of King Arthur is admittedly fabulous, and it is difficult to understand why the legends of the earlier period assigned to the invasion of Hengist and Horsa should be regarded as less mythic and more historical. It is not impossible that the legend may prove to be another Teutonic version of the actions of the Dioskouroi; the names are suspiciously eponymic, both signifying horses, and thus in singular parallel to Romulus and Remus.*

It may be allowable to doubt if the history of Britain has been even yet unravelled from the tangle of fact and fiction bequeathed by monkish historians, notwithstanding the able research to which it has been subjected. When the Romans left, were there not important bodies or tribes of Celts who were not Welsh?

Spelman, who is of those who do not trace the national customs beyond the Teutonic era, speaks of the Saxon manner of dividing the kingdom by hydes, and levying soldiers according to the hyde, which, he says, grew out of use at the Norman conquest. He also says the Normans changed the name to that of carruè, and ordinarily assigned two carruès to a knight's fee.† Coke, on the other hand, says it is undetermined whether a knight's fee was rated according to quantity or value; and adds: "In the Duchy of

* For the pervading influence of this and other myths, see *Mythology of the Aryan nations*, by Geo. W. Cox, M.A.; also Kemble's *Saxons in England*, T. 16. London, 1870. As these sheets are passing through the press, the *Athenæum* reports, May 11, 1872, that at the Society of Antiquaries, May 2, Mr. H. C. Coote communicated a paper which called attention to a passage in an Italian historian (probably Paulus Diaconus) which had been overlooked by Lappenberg, and other writers on early English history, in which it was stated that Vortigern, not Hengist, was the invader of Kent.

† *The English Works*. Second Ed., 1727. Fol. 45.

"Lancaster, the fee contained four hides, each hide four "carruès, each carruè four yards of thirty acres each, and "every fee 1,920 acres. According to other computations," he adds, "a knight's fee contained 680 acres. But in "most computations the fee contained five hides, each hide "four yards of twenty-four acres each, in the whole 480 "acres."* In the reign of Edward II., we are told, "800 "acres made a knight's fee, but in Cornwall, at that time, "four Cornish acres, containing 1,080 statute acres, were "required to make up one knight's fee."† Hollinshed says:—"Heere note, by the way, that an hyde of lande "includeth an hundred acres, and an acre conteyneth fortie "perches in length and foure in breadth, the length of a "pearch conteyning sixteene foote and an halfe, so that the "common acre should conteyne 240‡ perches; and eyghte "hydes, or 800 acres, is a knyghte's fee, after the best "approved writers and playne demonstration."§ He also says that "the word families is all one with hidelands, "ploughlands, carucates, or temewares;" and that "in Lin-"colnshire the worde hyde, or hidelande, was never in use in "olde time, as in other places, but for hide they used the "word carucate, or cartware, or teme, and these were of no "less compasse then an hidelande. *Ex Hugone le blanc monacho Petroburgensi.*" ‖

Mr. Kemble's estimate, that the hide was equivalent to thirty statute acres, is based upon the assumption of "a "most striking coincidence with respect to the size of the "hide in various parts of England;" (!) and that "there "does seem reason to believe that a measure not widely

* *The Compleat Copyholder, ut supra*, p. 29.

† *Nat. Hist. Cornwall*, by William Borlase, 1758, p. 320.

‡ There appears some error here, as 160 perches make an acre, with but few exceptions, whatever the extent of the perch may be.

§ Vol. III., fol. 312. ‖ Vol. I., fol. 12.

"different from the result of my own calculations as to the "hide prevailed in Germany, and hence to conclude that it "was the usual basis of measurement among all the tribes "that issued from the storehouse of nations;" and that "there is reason to believe 'the Anglo-Saxon acre' implied "ordinarily a quantity of land not very different in amount "from our own statute acre."* This distinguished scholar, who speaks of the acre as "a fixed and not a variable "quantity, both as to form and extent," does not appear to have been aware of the great variety of the measures of land which have and, to some extent, do still prevail in the British Isles, of which nearly forty may be enumerated, and some of them presumably of Celtic origin, as they are found only in Wales. Nor was he aware that there has been, and is still, or at any rate was within fifty years, a lineal measure called an acre, which was 22 yards in Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, 28 in Yorkshire, and 32 in Derbyshire; and that the very name is probably of Celtic origin, from *eadh-coir* (aceer), a statute cord.† Of this lineal measure Mr. Kemble quotes illustrations in a footnote; others may be found abundantly in Domesday Book, and one is supplied by Shakespere, *Winter's Tale*, I, 2; and above, p. 1.

Much of the uncertainty which attaches to the word hide will disappear if it should be assumed that the word is the Teutonic form of the Celtic eid. In fact, the probability that a tax, or value, was the true signification of the word hide has forced itself upon various commentators, though they have not succeeded in discarding the preconceived idea of its denoting an extent of land.

Mr. Beamont, in his valuable *Extension and Translation*

* *Saxons in England*, I. 95-6.

† *Pro. Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society*, 1871-2, in which this subject is discussed at some length in a paper, "Customary or Local Measures of Land in the British Isles;" also *Second Report Com. Weights and Measures. Par. Pro.*, 1820.

of the Survey of Cheshire and Lancashire, has exte
the abbreviation *geld.* into *geldabilis*, and translated it
able to the geld. Mr. Kemble renders it geldable. Se
on the other hand, extends it into geldabat; and it s
probable that the latter is the more correct extension,
the surveyors are recording the hidage in the time of I
Edward the Confessor, and would naturally use lang
which had reference to the past. This is confirmed in pl
by Mr. Beamont, who gives tenuit, geldavit, and vale
Of Bistre (Biscopestrue) it is said: *Tempore regis Edw*
nunquam geldavit nec hidata fuit; which Mr. Bean
renders, "In King Edward's time it was never rated to
"gelt, nor hided." But surely it is more correct to r
"It never yielded in King Edward's time, nor was it (e
"hided." Now, the Teutonic *geld* being the same v
with the English *yield*, the form given by Selden w
signify—*was yielding*, an expression indicative not of su
ficial extent, but of value, and analogous to part of
ordinary covenant in a modern lease, "yielding and payi
in which the distinction is enforced between the rent or p
to be paid and the value accruing, or yielded, which ma
taken compulsorily in default of payment. And thus anc
confraternities were called gilds, because they yielded cer
advantages to the members, and not because the mem
paid for those advantages. After pointing out that the
must of necessity be various according to the nature of
soil and custom of husbandry in every county, Sel
says:—"Thence is it that, in Domesday, such a place
"dabat *pro* x., xii., xx., &c., hidis; that is, it paid after
"rate of so many hides, for by hides the usual payment
"subsidies and aids were in the elder times."* And again
"But it is plain that the antient taxes and subsidies ex

* *Tit. Hon.*, part 2, fol. 657.

"ordinarily paid to the Crown were chiefly levied by hydes, "and are called hydagia, or hydagium. . . . . By "hydes chiefly the land of the kingdom was reckoned in "Domesday; and the aids taken in the infancy of the "Norman state here was hydage."*

I think this view receives confirmation on a careful examination of Mr. Beamont's volume, in which such expressions as the following occur frequently:—"Ibi dimidia hida gelda-"bilis." "Ibi tercia pars unius hidæ geldabilis, tenet in ipsâ "villâ unam bovatam et terciam partem unæ hidæ gelda-"bilem." "Ibi duæ partes unius hidæ geldabiles;" in which, it will be observed that the adjective *geldabilis* qualifies the part, and not the hide, and I submit should be rendered, "there yieldable or producible of half a hide;" "there the "third part producible of a hide;" "he holds in the town "itself a bovate and a third part producible of a hide;" "two parts producible of a hide;" that is, in more idiomatic English, "capable of yielding an aid, or part of an aid." This emendation is of Mr. Beamont's extension; Selden's extension requires none.

In the Shetland Isles, in the present day, a custom exists which appears identical with the fiscal nature ascribed to the hide, or aid. It is thus described by a correspondent of *Notes and Queries*:—

All public assessments are levied, and divisions made, according to the number of merklands in a parish. All arable lands were anciently, under the Norwegian law, rated as *merks*—a merk containing eight *ures*. These merks are quite indefinite as to extent. It is, indeed, clear that the ancient denomination of *merk land* had not reference to superficial extent, but was a denomination of value alone, in which was included the proportion of the surrounding commonalty, or *scattald*. Merk lands are of different values, as sixpenny, ninepenny, twelvepenny—a twelvepenny merk having, formerly at least, been considered

* *Ibid.*, fol. 657, No. 245.

equal to two sixpenny merks; and in some old deeds lands are described as thirty merks sixpenny, otherwise fifteen merks twelvepenny land. All assessments have, however, for a long period, been levied, and all privileges apportioned, according to merks, without relation to whether they were sixpenny or twelvepenny. The ancient rentals of Shetland contain about fourteen merks of land; and it will be noticed that, however much the ancient enclosed land be increased by additional improvements, the number of merks ought to be, and are, stationary. The valued rent, divided according to the merk lands, would make a merk land in Shetland equal to £2 Scots of valued rent. There are only two places of Scotland proper where merks are in use—Stirling and Dunfermline, I think. As these two places were the occasional residences of our ancient Scottish kings, it is possible this plan of estimating land may have obtained there, to equalise and make better understood some arrangements relating to land entered into between the Kings of Norway and Scotland.*

Is it not more probable that the merk thus used is the Celtic eid rebaptized by Scandinavian or Teuton? The inequality in the extent of land included under the term merk ranges from half an acre to two acres.† According to Jameson, the words *merk*, *merkland*, were a denomination of land, from the duty anciently paid to the sovereign or superior. On the same authority, the *scattald* or *scathold* is open ground for pasture, or for furnishing fuel; whilst *ure* is a denomination of land in Orkney and Shetland, "*Isl.* "*auri*, octava pars marcæ, tam in fundo, quam in mobilibus." The scatland of Orkney seems somewhat analogous to the merk of Shetland and the hide, or eid, of England. It must be remembered that the Great Survey was taken for the purpose of ascertaining the revenue that had been, and could be, extracted from the people, and that the mere extent of land was comparatively unimportant.

A curious parallel to the primary signification I have

* *N. and Q.*, First Series, VII., 618.

† *Second Report on Weights and Measures. Par. Pro.* 1820.

suggested for the hide of land is presented by the hide-geld. Amongst the Anglo-Saxons, if a serf committed certain offences he was made to suffer in his hide, *i.e.*, corium, or skin; if, however, he was possessed of means, he was allowed to commute this corporal punishment for a pecuniary fine, called hide-geld. I do not know the rate of exchange, but there was a tariff of so many lashes for a shilling; and on various occasions the penalty to be exacted is spoken of in the laws as being, not so many hide-gelds, but as so many hides. Each of these hides represented a given tale of punishment, just as I have supposed the hide of land to have denoted, primarily, a given tale of taxation, subsequently applied to the extent of land assessed to the aid; thence subdivisions would follow, as in the merklands of Shetland.

A hide of land in Blechingdon, Oxon, was rated, temp. Hen. III., 1169, at forty shillings; if this represented the value of the hide, or tax, and not that of the land, and the rate was uniform, then Chester, at fifty hides, was rated to produce £100 a year, equal to £12,000 per annum at the present value of money.*

It seems impossible to reconcile the hidage of cities with the supposition that a hide is always the extent of a ploughland. It is inconceivable that, at the time of the survey, there were fifty ploughlands in Chester and only five in Exeter; and taking the smallest area assigned to the hide, namely, twenty acres, the fifty hides assigned to Chester would give an area of 1,000 acres, which is several fold the extent of that venerable city. And again, whilst Exeter was assessed for only five hides, Melcombe Regis was rated for ten. Yet Mr. Kemble says, "it is neces-

* *Ellis Int. Domesd.*, I., p. 149.

"sary to bear in mind that the Hid is exclusively *arable* land." *

The modern land-tax is the legitimate representative of the ancient hide, or aid, levied upon real property; it was instituted in 1689, and assumed its present form a few years later, 1697; continued an annual vote until 1798, when it was rendered permanent, with the option of redemption; and in 1853 the cost of redemption was reduced 17½ per cent. The inequalities in the levy of this tax are very great, ranging, in 1836, from four shillings to one farthing in the pound.† The popular explanation of these inequalities aptly illustrates the loose way in which thoughtless guesses are accepted as historic facts. Respectable authorities, including Dr. Leone Levi,‡ assert that every city and county was allowed to assess itself; that those favourable to the Government were liberal, but those hostile (*i.e.* Jacobites) had no scruple in assessing themselves at the lowest possible amount. But, on reference to the statutes, it appears the Commissioners were directed to issue warrants to two, at the least, of the most able and sufficient inhabitants of each parish, or place, to be assessors, to ascertain the true yearly value as the same were let for, or were worth to be let for, at the time of the assessing thereof.§

On the identity of the land-tax with hydage, &c., Blackstone says:—

These periodical assessments, the subsidies which preceded them, and

* *The Saxons in England*, Vol. I., p. 488.—In Cheshire there is little doubt the value of the hide was enhanced by saltworks, and that mines, fisheries, eeries, hays, and other possessions, increased the hidage, or aid-assessment, whilst the almost universal discrepancy between the hidage and the number of carucates renders Mr. Kemble's statement very improbable.

† *Constitutional Right to a Revision of the Land-tax.* Pamph., Anti-Corn-Law League. 1842.

‡ *On Taxation; How it is raised, and how it is expended*, 1860, pp. 155-6.

§ *Constitutional Right, &c., ut supra.*

the more antient scutage, hydage, and tallinge, were, to all intents and purposes, a land-tax; and the assessments were sometimes expressly called so.* Yet a popular opinion has prevailed that the land-tax was first introduced in the reign of King William III., because, in the year 1692, a new assessment, or valuation, of estates was made throughout the kingdom, which, though by no means a perfect one, had this effect, that a supply of £500,000 was equal to 1s. in the pound of the value of the estates given.

He further says :—

The method of raising it is by charging a particular sum upon each county, according to the valuation given in A.D. 1692.†

When the tax was made permanent it was assumed that the several assessments should be permanent also, hence glaring inequalities, which have never been adjusted. In 1858, according to Dr. Levi, the discrepancies between the yield of the land-tax and of the property-tax on realty was as follows :—

London City	£87,056	£2,096,000
„ St. Pancras	1,399	3,118,000
„ Marylebone, &c. / „ Paddington	1,018	2,970,000
Leeds and suburbs	1,057	671,000
Manchester	1,106	2,840,000 ‡

This illustrates some of the discrepancies in the hydage or amount of aids levied in different parts of the country, which would fluctuate not only with the relative value of property in different parts of the kingdom, but also with the differences arising from the (probable) fact that the assessments for different places were made at different dates. For example, in South Lancashire it is said that each hide contained six carucates; but this proportion is not found

* *Com. Journ.*, 26 Jun., 9 Dec., 1678.

† *Book I.*, c. 8, s. xviii.

‡ *On Taxation, ut supra*, p. 156.

elsewhere, not even in the adjacent county of Chest whilst the value of land yielding a hide, or aid, to have been sixteen shillings in the former coun difficult to ascertain the amount in Cheshire. The inference is, that as the taxation in Lancashire v complicated, it was more recently established, and quently that Lancashire was brought under the su of the Saxons at a date comparatively recent wl Great Survey was taken. It is generally assumed t Conqueror's object in having the survey taken was t tain the amount of taxation which could be ex and therefore value, and not extent, was the importan be ascertained. This is confirmed by the epithet *wa* the statement that, in certain parts, more ploughs m used, and in others more land might be brought und vation.* Further confirmation is derived from the the book, if I am correct in supposing that Domesda sents the Celtic *do-meis-deigh*, and signifies the apprai inquest, or inquisition. On the supposition that hide sent aids, much, which is otherwise incomprehensil anomalous, assumes systematic relations.

It is highly probable that a similar inquiry would correct some of the views which have been expressed to the value of carucates, virgates, bovates, and othe which were employed in the Great Survey. So fa inquiries have proceeded it seems almost certain that t carucate was as vague at that period in England, as

* Anno ejus xviij° fecit inquiri per suamquamque schiram An hidæ et jugera sufficerent uni aratro per annum, et quot animalia, quam urbs, castellæ, vicus, villæ, flumen, polus, silva reddent per in Thesauro reponi, quod dicitur Domesday.—*Feudal Manuals o History*, by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., &c.; published direction and at the expense of Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., &c., p. 1 also stated that the Conqueror, anno ejus xv° . . . . cepit ab unaqu terræ vj.s.; and on p. 135, that Etheldred fecit parari contra Dac hidis navem unam, et ex viij hidis loricam et galeam; showing th was sometimes levied in kind, instead of coin.

term ploughland in Ireland at the date of the Plantation, *ante* pp. 5-7. It is usually assumed that there were four virgates in a hide; but we have seen from Coke, *ante* p. 14, that a hide contained four carruès, and each carruè four yards, thus making a hide equal to sixteen virgates or yardlands. See also *Liber niger Monasterii S. Petri de Burgo*, published by the Camden Society as an appendix to the *Chron. Petroburg.*, entries in which seem to show that a hide contained or covered many more than four virgates. For example, "in "Undele sunt IIII hidæ ad geldum Regis. Et de istis hidis "tenent XXV homines XX virgas terræ. * * * * "In Estona sunt III hidæ ad in Waram. Et de hac terra "tenent XXI villani XXI virgas; et VI virgæ et dimidia "wastæ sunt." But the further discussion of this part of the subject must be deferred to another occasion.

FIG. 1.

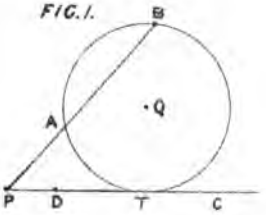


FIG. 2

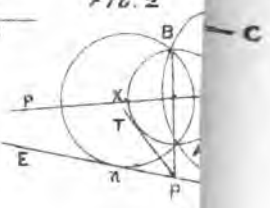


FIG. 6.

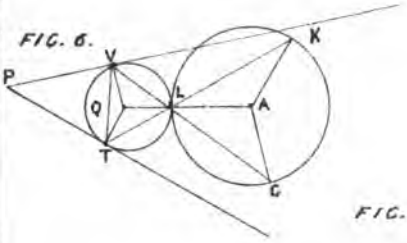


FIG. 7.

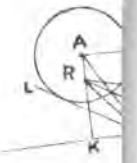
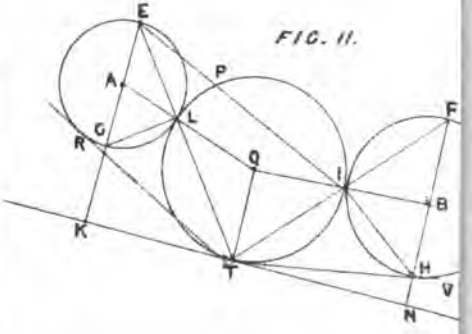


FIG. 11.



DE TACTIONIBUS; OR, SOME PROBLEMS ON CONTACT, AS TREATED GEOMETRICALLY BY APOLLONIUS, VIETA, AND SWALE.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S., &c.

(Read January 11th, 1872.)

Problems on Contact have attracted the attention of geometers from very early times. Euclid has treated two of the simplest cases in his *Elements of Geometry*, viz., when the tangential circle has to pass through three given points, or touch three given lines. These answer to the general case when the three radii become zero and infinity respectively. Apollonius, of Perga, one of Euclid's disciples, so far as is known, was the first who composed a formal treatise on the subject. His work is said to have consisted of two books, both of which have unfortunately been lost. Pappus, of Alexandria, however, has given an account of the contents of this treatise in the seventh book of his *Mathematical Collections;* and has preserved those Lemmas which were necessary for the demonstrations.

The account which Pappus gives of the nature of these problems led several able geometers to attempt their restoration. This was accomplished with considerable success by Vieta, in his *Apollonius Gallus;* and some of his omissions were afterwards supplied by Ghetaldus. Fermat extended Vieta's methods by applying them to spherical contacts; and his treatise on *Spherical Tangencies* was translated and pub-

lished by Lawson as a supplement to the second edition of his translation of the *Apollonius Gallus;* and it was again reproduced in the appendix to the *Lady's Diary* for 1840. Camerer also published an edition of the Tangencies, in French, including the Lemmas from Pappus, but he added little to Vieta, beyond distinguishing the different cases of the several problems.

With the exception of a few isolated cases, as noticed in the following scholia, the general problem of contacts was permitted to rest until M. Hatchette made it the subject of a course of lectures in the Polytechnique School at Paris. A summary of his researches is contained in the second number of the *Correspondance sur l'Ecole Polytechnique,* of which journal he was the editor, and the generality of his views is such that his reasonings apply whether the entities in contact be circles or spheres. The general problem, *in plano,* of describing a circle to touch three others attracted much attention; and considerable advances were made towards its complete solution by Cauchy, Dandelin, Dupin, Francais, Poisson, Poncelet, and Gaultier. It was reserved, however, for Gergonne to complete their labours, and give a method of constructing the twenty-four points of contact of the eight tangential circles, by one uniform and direct process, which has never since been excelled.

Mr. Swale's solutions of these problems of contact are in general very different from any which have as yet been published; and are therefore valuable for the sake of comparison. Several of the constructions bear evident tokens of his master hand. The manuscript from which they have been copied consisted of a few loose leaves only; and several of the demonstrations were wanting or imperfect. Most of these defects have been supplied, and the various scholia added with a view to illustrate some points in the historical bearings of the several propositions.

Proposition I.

To describe a circle through two given points to touch a right line given in position.

Construction.

Let A, B, (*Fig.* 1) be the given points, and CD, the given line. Produce BA to meet CD at P; make PB : PT : : PT : PA; and describe the required circle through the points A, B, T.

Demonstration.

Since the circle passes through A, B, T; and PB. PA = PT^2; the line PT obviously touches the circle at T; and it also passes through the given points A and B. Q. E. D.

Scholium.

This proposition forms Problem II in Vieta's *Apollonius Gallus*, and the Rev. John Lawson included it as Problem VII. of his translation of "The Two Books of Apollonius "Pergæus concerning Tangencies," as restored by Vieta and Ghetaldus. The above construction is the same as that by Vieta, whose method has been followed by many modern geometers. Mr. Swale has also considered this problem in his *Geometrical Amusements*, page 15, where he shows that the *Tangencies* are intimately connected with the *Section of Ratio* as understood by the Ancients. He there makes the construction depend upon the following auxiliary problem, which we may term (A):—"The point P, and the right lines "AC, BC, are given in position; to draw the right line PRL, "meeting AC, CB, at R, L, so that the segments AR, BL, "shall have a given ratio."

He then constructs the problem as follows (the diagrams are readily constructed) :—"Let P, K, be the given points, "and BQ the given line. Join the points P, K; draw KQ "perpendicular to BQ, the line given in position, also PB, "BR, perpendicular to PK, PB; then, by the preceding "auxiliary problem, let PLR be drawn, making QL : BR : : "KQ : PB;—the point of contact is L."

It is further remarked that the problem "is the same as:—" To determine two lines, of which the rectangle and ratio are "given." Or:—"To draw, from two given points, two lines "intersecting each other on a right line, given in position; "and, with two other right lines, also given in position, making "angles, of which the sum, or the difference, shall be given."

Thomas Simpson, formerly Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, has given two very elegant solutions to this problem. In his *Geometry*, Fryer's edition, 1821, page 240, he supposes A and B the given points, and CD the given line. "Draw AB, which bisect in "E, by the perpendicular EF meeting CD in F; from *any* "point H in EF draw HG perpendicular to CD; and having "drawn BF, to the same apply HJ = HG; and parallel "thereto draw BK meeting BF in K; then from centre K "with the radius BK let a circle be described; and the thing is "done." HJ may obviously have another position, as H *i*; then a parallel B*k* will give the centre of the second tangential circle, which equally solves the problem. The construction in his *Algebra*, page 355, edition 1826, is also very simple. He there supposes D and G to be the given points, and AB the given line; and then proceeds thus:—"Draw "DG, and bisect the same by the perpendicular FC meeting "AB in C; join C, D, and make FP perpendicular to AB. "From F to CD produced draw FS = FP; make DH parallel "to FS, and from H with radius DH describe the circle HDQ; "and the thing is done."

Dr. Colenso, in his *Geometrical Problems*, No. 80, Book III, has given a solution of this problem somewhat different from any of the preceding. It is as follows:—"Let A, B, "be the given points, and CE the given line; produce AB to "meet the given line in C; on AC describe a circle, and draw, "to meet it, BD perpendicular to AC. In the given line take "CE = CD; bisect AB in F, and draw EG, FG, perpen-

"dicular to EC, AC; and with centre G and radius GA = "GB, describe the circle required." This construction gives the centre G without making use of the property CA. CB = CE^2; or formally describing a circle through the points A, B, E. The neatest solution, however, with which I am acquainted is contained in a memoir written by the late General Poncelet, when a prisoner of war at Saratoff, in 1813, which has since been published in his *Applications d'Analyse et de Géométrie*, Vol. I. pp. 41-2, Paris, 1862. This able geometer describes *any* circle through the points A, B, (*Fig.* 2), and it is then readily seen that AB produced is the *radical axis* to *all* circles passing through the two given points. He then produces AB to meet CE, the given line in p, and draws a tangent pT to the auxiliary circle. If we now set off $pm = pn = p$T, both ways on the line CE, m and n are the points of contact of the *two* circles which answer the conditions of the problem.

Mr. Swale again gives two *original* constructions in the Liverpool *Apollonius*, pp. 40-1, as applications of his *Memoir on Tangencies*. The first of these makes a very close approach to that given by General Poncelet, but he does not notice that the length of the tangent gives the centres of the required circles when set off in opposite directions. He was not acquainted with *radical axes*, as such; but he deduces several properties of both these and the *radical centre* at the close of these solutions. This problem has also been solved analytically, both by ordinary algebra, and the method of co-ordinates, in Newton's *Arithmetica Universalis*, p. 294, Wilder's edition, 1769; and in M. Ritt's *Problemes de Géométrie*, Paris, 1836, where Vieta's construction is deduced.

PROPOSITION II.

To describe a circle through a given point to touch two right lines given in position.

Construction.

Let A be the given point (*Fig.* 3), PC, PD, the given lines intersecting at P. Draw AB perpendicular to the line bisecting the angle CPD; and meeting the given lines in C, D. Make CB = DA; and also CA : CT : : CT : CB. Then the circle described through A, B, T, is that required.

Demonstration.

Draw PL bisecting the angle TPV. Then by construction CD is perpendicular to PL; or the triangle CPD is isosceles, having CL = LD. But CB = AD, and BL = LA; and therefore LP passes through the centre Q of the circle ABT. Now, since the points A, B, T, are in the circle, and CA. CB = CT^2, the circle touches CP at T. Hence the circle ABT touches PC, and has its centre in the line PL bisecting the angle CPD; and consequently also touches PD at the point V. Q. E. D.

Scholium.

This problem is the fourth of Vieta's restoration of *Apollonius*, and the eighth of Lawson's translation, Vieta premises a Lemma for the purpose of drawing through A a line to make equal angles with PD and PC. He then makes LA = LB, and describes a circle through A and B to touch PC or PD. This method is followed by Potts, Colenso, Reynaud, and Catalan, the last of whom terms PL the *axis of symmetry*. Sir John Leslie's construction, given in his *Geometrical Analysis*, page 107, is almost identical with Mr. Swale's; and so is that given by McDowell in Art. 128 of his *Exercises*.

Professor Simpson solves the problem both in his *Algebra* and *Geometry*. There is only a slight variation in his solutions. His method has been adopted by Todhunter, Morton, and Lardner, who describes an auxiliary circle, and supplies an *Analysis* from which his construction follows. M. Garnier, in his *Reciproques de la Géométrie*, pp. 128-9, gives both Vieta's and Simpson's solutions, the former with the requisite Lemma, but he does not refer either to Simpson's

works or the *Apollonius Gallus*. Simpson's construction is given by Lawson as a second method, and is as follows :—

"Let BC, BD, be the given lines meeting in B, and A the "given point. Join AB, and draw BN bisecting the given "angle DBC. From any point E in BN let fall the perpen-"dicular EF upon BC, and to BA apply EG = EF; parallel "to which draw A H meeting BN in H. Then from centre H "with interval AH let a circle be described; and the thing is "done."

Mr. Swale included this problem in his *Geometrical Amusements*, page 48, where he proves that the solution may be made to depend upon the following auxiliary problem :— "The point P, and the right lines AK, AL, are given in "position; to draw the right lines PQ, PR, including a given "angle, and cutting off segments KQ, LR, from the lines AK, "AL, that shall have a given ratio." He then constructs the tangential problem thus :—"Let P be the given point, VA, "VB, the given lines. Draw PA, PB, perpendicular to VA, "VB; then by the auxiliary problem draw PT, PR, including "an angle equal half APB, and making VT = VR; the points "of contact are T, R." He also gives a second construction depending upon the auxiliary problem (A) which is worthy of transcription :—"Draw PA, PB, as before; also PV, PL, "LH, making the angle VPL = ½ APB, PL = PV, and the "angle PLH = PVA. Lastly, by problem (A) draw PRH, "so that VR = LH, a circle through P, to touch VB at R, "will be the one required."

But Mr. Swale's fertility of invention was not yet exhausted, for, in the *Apollonius*, page 42, I find two other very elegant constructions depending upon the properties he had deduced in his paper on *Tangencies*. They are as follows :—

I. "Let HE, HF, be the given lines, and M the given "point. Draw EMF, making HE = HF; EN = FM; the

"radii AQ, AP, of *any* circle AMN, perpendicular to HE, "HF; the tangents ET, FV, meeting at D; then DA, TQ, "VP, will pass through B, K, L, the required centre and "points of contact."

II. "Draw HB bisecting the angle EHF, and MP parallel "thereto; the tangent MT to the circle HP, determines B, in "HB, the centre of the required circle."

Four curious deductions are then drawn from the lines in the requisite diagrams, of which full proof may be found in the *Essay on Tangencies*. It will be remarked that these constructions do not involve auxiliary problems more difficult than those they are required to assist in solving.

General Poncelet considered this problem during his captivity, and his process is not only neat, but original. With him MN and *mn* (*Fig.* 4) are the given lines, and A the given point. He then considers MN and *mn* as two circles of infinite radii, and remarks that all tangential circles to these two lines will have their points of contact at an equal distance from their point of intersection K. Hence make KR = KR′, and the line RR′ may be considered as a secant passing through the point O situated at infinity. The line AO will therefore be parallel to RR′; and a circle through A, R, R′ will cut AO in a second point B on the circumference sought. The problem is therefore reduced to drawing through A and B a circle to touch the right line MN, which is obviously Proposition I. Sir Isaac Newton points out how this problem follows from the preceding, and then gives a solution by ordinary algebra; and M. Ritt supplies three solutions by the method of co-ordinates.

Proposition III.

To describe a circle to touch two right lines, and another circle, all given in position.

Construction.

Let the given lines PT, PV, (*Fig.* 5) meet at P, and let A be the centre of the given circle. From A draw AK perpendicular to PT, meeting PG the bisector of the angle TPV at G. In the radius AI drawn parallel to PG take AC : AI : : PG : GK ;—join CP, AL, meeting the given circle and PG at L, Q. The circle from centre Q and radius QL is that required.

Demonstration.

Draw QT perpendicular to PT. Then by construction AC : AI : : AC : AL : : PG : GK. But by parallels AC : AL : : PQ : QL ; and therefore PG : GK : : PQ : QL. But PG : GK : : PQ : QT, by parallels. Hence PQ : QL : : PQ : QT, and consequently QL = QT. The circle therefore evidently touches PT and the given circle AL ; and since PQ bisects the angle TPV, the circle having its centre in PQ and touching PT will also touch PV. Q. E. D.

Otherwise.

Draw the radii AK, AG, (*Fig.* 6), perpendicular to the given lines PT, PV ;—draw KL, GL, to include an angle = half KAG, by *Auxiliary Problem* (B), meeting PT, PV, at T, V, and making PT = PV ; the required circle will pass through L, T, V.

Demonstration.

Draw TQ, VQ, parallel to KA, GA, meeting each other at Q, and join AL, QL, TV, GK. By construction PT = PV, and the angle PTQ = PVQ = right angle ; or QT = QV, and therefore the circle touches PT, PV, at T and V. Also since the angle KAG = 2KLG, the point L is obviously in the circumference of the circle KAG. But, by parallels, the angle LTQ = LKA, and from the isosceles triangles LQT, LAK, we have the angle LTQ = TLQ ; and the angle LKA = KLA ; whence the angle TLQ = KLA, or ALQ is the same right line, and consequently the circle through T, V, L, is that required. Q. E. D.

Scholium.

Mr. Swale's second construction is the same as that given in his *Geometrical Amusements*, pp. 52-3, and the process is made to depend on the following problem, which we may term

(B) :—"The points G, K, and the right lines PT, PV, are "given in position ; to draw GL, KL, to include a given angle, "and to cut off from PT, PV, the segments PT, PV, that shall "have a given ratio." This is Problem XVII of the *Amusements*, and the ratio in this case is evidently one of equality. He also gives the following elegant constructions of Proposition III in pages 43-4 of the *Apollonius* :—

I. "Draw, to the given circle, the tangents QD, RD, "parallel to PE, PF, the lines given in position ;—then DP, "QI, RI, determine the three points of contact, I, K, L ;" where I is the intersection of DP with the circumference of the given circle.

II. "Let the radii AN, AM, be perpendicular to PE, PF ; "draw EF through M, N, and take MQ : QN : : MF : NE. "Then the tangent QI, and NI, MI, determine I, K, L, the "points of contact."

The proofs for both of these constructions readily follow from Mr. Swale's paper on *Tangential Circles*, previously cited.

Vieta's solution in the *Apollonius Gallus*, Problem V, forms Problem IX of Lawson's translation, and is very simple. He draws two parallels to the given lines at a distance from them equal to the radius of the given circle. A circle to touch these parallels and pass through the centre A, by Prop. II, will evidently be concentric with the required circle, whose radius is the difference between the radii of these two circles. This method is adopted, almost without variation, by Leslie, Colenso, Potts, Todhunter, McDowell, Morton, Garnier, Catalan, and Reynaud. Mr. Morton points out the *four* solutions of the problem, and Catalan gives a neat analysis. Potts's solution is defective, (*School Euclid*, p. 382,) inasmuch as it requires the addition of the words—"at an equal "distance from," in order to render his variation of Vieta's construction applicable to all cases. Thomas Simpson solves

the problem both in his *Algebra*, Prob. 45, and in his *Geometry*, Prob. 44; the method of construction being the same in both places. BD and BC are the given lines, and AM the radius of the given circle. He then draws "PQ "parallel to BC, at the distance of the radius AM; and through "the point of concourse B of the given lines, draw NBP, "bisecting the angle CBD, and meeting PQ in P. From any "point E in PN, upon PQ, let fall the perpendicular EF; and "from the same point to PA, apply EG = EF. Draw AH "parallel to EG, meeting the circumference of the given circle "in M, and PN in H. From centre H, with radius HM "describe a circle, and it will be the one required."

General Poncelet reduces the problem to that of describing a circle to pass through a given point and touch two right lines given in position; but he gives no special construction. M. Ritt gives an elaborate solution by the method of co-ordinates, and deduces constructions for the four circles which satisfy the required conditions. (See his *Problèmes*, pp. 65-68.)

Proposition IV.

To describe a circle through two given points to touch another circle given in magnitude and position.

Construction.

Let AL be the radius of the given circle, (*Fig.* 7,) and C, D, the given points. Draw AK perpendicular to DC; take KR equal the tangent drawn to the given circle from K; and join RC, RD. Make the angle CRP = CDR, and let PL touch the given circle at L; the circle described through C, D, L, is that required.

Demonstration.

Join PA, LA;—then by construction $KR^2 = KA^2 - AL^2$; and consequently $KR^2 + KP^2 = KA^2 + KP^2 - AL^2 = PR^2 = PL^2$. Whence PR = PL. But by similar triangles PD : PR : : PR : PC; or $PD.PC = PR^2 = PL^2$. Consequently PL

touches the circle passing through C, D, at L. But PL is a tangent to the given circle at the same point L. Hence the circles touch each other at the same point. Q. E. D.

Otherwise, for external contact.

Draw, from C, D, the tangents CT, DV, to the given circle. In CD take CR : RD : : CT : DV :—draw the radius AF perpendicular to CD ; join FR, cutting the circle in L, and describe the required circle through C, D, L.

Again, for internal contact.

Draw AK perpendicular to CD, bisecting CD at I ; CD meeting the circle at B. Make $PK^2 - PI^2 = BK^2 - CI^2$; let PL touch the circle at L, and describe the required circle through C, D, L.

Generally, for all positions.

Construction.

Through the given points C, D (*Fig.* 8), however posited, describe a circle to cut the given one in G, K ;—let CD, GK, meet at P ; draw the tangent PL to the given circle ; and the circle through C, D, L, is that required.

Demonstration.

The circle passes through C, D, by construction. Now PL is a tangent to the given circle at L ; whence $PG.PK = PL^2$. But the points G, K, C, D, are in a circle ; and therefore PC. PD = PG.PK. Hence $PC.PD = PL^2$; or PL is a tangent to the required circle at L. Consequently both circles touch PL at the same point L, and therefore touch each other at that point.

Scholium.

This proposition is the same as Problem VIII of Vieta's *Apollonius Gallus*, and forms Problem XII of Lawson's translation. Vieta, page 333 of his *Opera*, supposes B, D, to be the given points, and A the centre of the given circle. He then says :—" Let D, B, be joined, as also A, B, which " produce to cut the given circle in I, K. Then take BH, a " fourth proportional to DB, BK, BI ; so that BD.BH = " BI.BK. From H let a tangent HF be drawn to the given " circle ; and BF be joined and cut the given circle again in G.

"Draw DG, cutting the given circle again in E; and lastly "draw the required circle through D, B, and G." (*All the requisite diagrams are readily constructed.*)

Sir John Leslie, in his *Geometrical Analysis*, pp. 108-9, follows this method; and so does Garnier, in pp. 145-6 of his *Reciproques*. Vieta's solution is also included, in the discussion of a kindred problem from Dr. Simson's. *Opera Reliqua*, in Leybourn's *Ladies' Diaries*, Vol. IV, p. 284. The most elegant method of construction, however, immediately follows from the properties of *Radical Axes*, and the *Radical Centre* of the circles of contact. In the *Monthly Review* for October 1764, the problem is elegantly constructed as follows; and it will be found to have a close affinity with the general method adopted by Mr. Swale.

"Let A, B, be the given points, CED the given circle. "Take any point C′ in this circle, and through the points "A, B, C′, describe a circle to cut the given circle again in D′; "join C′D′ meeting AB in F, and draw PE touching the given "circle in E; then a circle through A, B, E, is evidently that "required."

The same method is adopted in the *Mathematical Repository*, N.S., Vol. I, part 2, page 18. There are also three solutions in the *Mathematical Companion* for 1811:—the *first* construction involves the properties of *Radical Axes*; the *second* is a variation of Vieta's method; and the *third* is a modification of that followed by the Monthly Reviewer. The *Mathematician*, for 1751, Problem 27, contains a complicated construction by Mr. John Turner; and Hugo D'Omerique, in his *Analysis Geometrica*, Prop. 47, Book 1, has given an analysis from which Vieta's construction will readily flow.

The method of construction by means of the properties of radical axes has been followed with little or no variation by Lardner, Wright, Bland, Morton, Potts, Todhunter, McDowell,

Mulcahy, Catalan, Compagnon, Reynaud, and Poncelet; the last of whom has considered the problem both in the *Correspondance sur l'Ecole Polytechnique*, and also in his *Applications*. Thomas Simpson's construction is both neat and simple. He supposes the given points to be A, B, and the given circle O*db*. He joins A, B, and bisects this line by the indefinite perpendicular DE. A point C is then found by Problem 15 of his *Geometry*, so that CO may exceed CA by the radius O*d* of the given circle. The late W. H. Wright gave an elegant construction of this subsidiary problem as Question 661 of the *Educational Times*, and I applied his method to Proposition IV, and several kindred problems in Questions 690 and 712 of the same journal.

Mr. Swale reconsidered the subject in pp. 44-5 of his *Apollonius*, and deduces the four following elegant constructions from his *Tangential Properties*:—

I. "Let M, N, be the given points, and AI the radius of "the given circle. Draw the diameter PP perpendicular to "MN, also the tangents MT, NV; and take ME : EN : : MT "; NV; then PE determines I the point of contact."

II. "Draw PP as above, meeting MN at D; also PL "through P, M; bisect MN at H, and take 2DH : ML : : MP "; MQ; the tangent QI determines I."

III. "Draw the tangents MT, NV, and make MQ : QN : : "MT^2 : NV^2; the tangent QI determines I."

IV. "Describe a circle to diameter MN; bisect the com- "mon tangents EL, HK, at P, R; and let RP meet MN at Q; "the tangent QI determines I."

At the close of these constructions, Mr. Swale adds several properties of the requisite diagrams, which are now well known in the Theory of Radical Axes. In corollary (1) the line "given in position" is the radical axis of the two circles; the "given point" to which the lines tend in corollaries (2) and (3) is the radical centre of the system of circles con-

cerned in the constructions. Newton indicates two solutions of the problem in his *Arithmetica Universalis*, pp. 296-7; but M. Ritt contents himself by referring to a diagram from which he considers that a construction of the problem may be derived from mere inspection.

PROPOSITION V.

To describe a circle through a given point to touch a line given in position, and also another circle given in magnitude and position.

Construction.

Let (A) be the centre of the given circle; B the given point; PT the line given in position (*Fig.* 9). Describe a circle to touch the given one at R, and the line PT given by position at T; draw the tangent RP meeting TP at P, and through the points B and T describe a circle to touch the given one at L; and the thing is done.

Demonstration.

It is evident that the circle passes through B, and touches the given circle at L. Also, per tangents, PR = PT = PL; and as PL is a tangent at L, by construction, its equal PT, the circle passing through T, must likewise be a tangent at T. Q. E. D."

Otherwise.

Draw the diameter HK perpendicular to the line IT given in position (*Fig.* 10), meeting it at I. Join KB, and make KI : KB : : KP : KH. Then a circle through PB to touch (A) at L will be the one required.

Demonstration.

Draw KL meeting the line IT at T; also join AL, HL, QL, QB, QT; the centre of the circle BPL being at Q. Then the circles touch each other at L, or ALQ is a straight line; also the required circle passes through B. But, by construction, KI . KH = KB . KP; and by similar triangles KI . KH = KT . KL; whence KB . KP = KT . KL; and therefore the circle passes through T. Again, the triangles KAL, TQL, are isosceles; whence the angle ALK = AKL;

and QLT = QTL. But ALK = QLT; and consequently AKL = QTL; whence QT is parallel to AK. Now AK is perpendicular to IT, by construction; and hence QT is perpendicular to IT, or the circle touches IT at T. Q. E. D.

Scholium.

So far as I know, Mr. Swale's first construction is almost unique, and it affords a good illustration of the use of an auxiliary circle. In any case, this circle may be determined as follows:—Draw any radius AR; make RP perpendicular to AR meeting TP at P. Bisect the angle RPT by the line PX meeting RA produced in O. Then RO is evidently the radius of the auxiliary circle. There are two other constructions of Proposition V., in pp. 46-7 of the *Apollonius*, which are not unworthy of transcription:—

III. "Let M be the given point, AI the radius of the given "circle, and DK the line given in position. Draw the diameter "PH perpendicular to KD; make PM : PD : : PH : PN; also "ML = LN, and let LQ, AR, PR, be perpendicular to MP "and AP respectively; then QR determines I."

IV. "Draw PH, and take N as in (III); let MT, NV, be "tangents to (A), and the radius A*p* perpendicular to PM. "Then making ME : EN : : MT : NV, the line E*p* determines "I."

These constructions are proved in the paper on "Tan-"gential Circles."

Mr. Swale's second construction is essentially the same as that given by Vieta in Problem VI of his *Apollonius Gallus*, which forms Problem X of Lawson's translation. This method is simple and elegant, and has been followed with little or no variation by Leslie, Bland, Morton, Potts, Todhunter, Colenso, Catalan, Garnier, Reynaud, and a writer in the *Mathematician*, for 1751. McDowell, in his *Exercises*, pp. 120-2, draws BH and produces it to S, making BH : HS : : KH : HI. Then the two circles through P, B, and the

two through P, S, touching IT, will give the *four* solutions of the problem. Poncelet, in Problem VI of his *Applications*, pp. 43-4, considers the line given in position as a circle of infinite radius, and from K he draws *any* secant KHI. Then a circle through B, H, I, determines the point P, as in Mr. Swale's first construction. He also remarks, that since the point H, of the perpendicular diameter will give two other circles, "le problème est susceptible de quatre solutions distinctes," as in McDowell's excellent construction. Simpson constructs the problem in his *Geometry* by a somewhat complicated process. Newton's algebraical solution, Problem 46, pp. 298-9, appears to be unnecessarily laborious; but he deduces the construction for a circle touching two circles and a right line from his investigation; so that what is lost in brevity is gained by duality. M. Ritt merely indicates a construction by means of *polars* and *radical axes*, derived from the solution of the more general problem of finding a fourth circle which shall touch three others given in magnitude and position.

PROPOSITION VI.

To describe a circle, to touch a right line given in position, and also two circles given in magnitude and position.

Construction.

Let A, B, be the centres of the given circles (*Fig.* 11), and KN the line given in position. Draw from the centres A, B; AK, BN, perpendicular to KN, meeting the circles at E, G, F, H. Determine the point T in the line KN, by means of the auxiliary problem (C), such that $TR^2 : TV^2 :: EK : FN$; TR and TV being tangents to the given circles. Join TF meeting the circle BF at I; draw EI and make $EI : EK :: EG : EP$. Then the circle through I, P, to touch the circle AE at L will be the one required.

Demonstration.

The circles AE, IPL, touch at L, and therefore AQ will pass through L. Join EL meeting KN at T; then EI . EP

= EK . EG; and by similar triangles ET . EL = EK . EG; or EI . EP = ET . EL; and therefore T is a point in the circumference of the circle IPL. Join QT; then EA = AL; and TQ = QL; and also the angle ELA = LEA = TLQ = LTQ. Hence QT is parallel to AE, and therefore perpendicular to KN; consequently the circle ILT touches KN at T. Again, join QI, BI, and, by construction, $TR^2 : TV^2 :: EK : FN :: TE : TL :: TF : TI$. But, by similar triangles, EK : FN :: ET . EL . FB : FT . FI . EA. Whence IT . EL : LT . FI :: EA : FB. But EL : LT :: EA : TQ; and IT . EL : LT . FI :: EA . IT :: TQ . FI : EA . FB. Consequently FB : TQ :: FI : IT :: BI : IQ; or BIQ is a continued right line. Hence the circles QI, BI, touch each other at I. Q. E. D.

Scholium.

The auxiliary problem alluded to in the above construction is that of having "given two circles (A) and (B); to find the point T, such that the tangents TR, TV, drawn to the given circles shall obtain a given ratio" (C). This forms Proposition III, p. 76, of my paper "On Circles of Tan-"gential Ratio," in the Appendix to the *Lady's and Gentleman's Diary* for 1855. Its solution is readily effected by dividing the *direct* and *inverse* common tangents to the given circles in the given ratio; and the intersection of a circle through these points of division with the line given in position determines T as required. There are two other solutions of Prop. VI in pp. 47-8, of the *Apollonius*, the requisite diagrams for which may be readily sketched :—

I. Let AI, BK, be the radii of the given circles, MQ the right line given in position. "Draw tangents LP, *lp*, parallel "to MQ; also P*p*, to the circles, and to QM at H, *h*, N. "Apply to each other PR, *p*R, mean proportionals to PN, "PH; and *p*N, *ph*. Draw RQ, AL, perpendicular to P*p*; "then LQ, PI, M*p*, determine I, M, K, the points of contact."

II. "Determine R, as in (I), and draw NR. Take MN = "NR; draw MI, MK, through P, *p*: the points of contact "are I, K, M."

Reference for proofs is made to various sections of the paper on Tangencies.

This proposition is Problem VII of Vieta's *Apollonius Gallus*, and it also forms Problem XI of Lawson's Translation, who has added the case of external and internal contact which Vieta had omitted. Vieta supposes A and B to be the centres of the given circles, and CZ the given right line. He then draws "from the centre of the less circle (B) the line "BZ perpendicular to CZ, and in BZ, produced if necessary, "take ZX = AL, the radius of the other circle. Through "X let XH be drawn parallel to CZ, and with centre B and "radius BG, equal to the difference, or sum, of the radii of "the two given circles, let a circle be described. Then a circle "touching this, passing through A, and also touching XH "will be concentric with the one required."

This mode of construction is more simple than that adopted by Mr. Swale, and has been followed by Newton, Simpson, Bland, Morton, Reynaud, Garnier, Catalan, Poncelet, Colenso, Potts, McDowell, and Todhunter. Meyer Hirsch has given a neat algebraical solution in his *Geometry*, page 248, as translated by Wright, London, 1827.

Proposition VII.

Lemma. *To draw through a given point* T, *a right line* TNK, *such, that drawing the diameters* EG, FH, *of two circles, given in magnitude and position, perpendicular to* TNK, *meeting it at* K, N, *the ratio* EK : FN ; *or* GK : HN *shall be given.*

Analysis.

Suppose it done:—draw AB, EF, intersecting at M, and the latter cutting KT at D. Let DI, (*Fig.* 12.) drawn perpendicular to DT meet AM at I, and join IT. Since the ratios DE : DF : : EK : FN; and ME : MF : : EA : FB, are given ones; the ratio DE : EF, and also ME : EF will be

given. Hence the ratio DE : EM; or DM : ME is given. But DM : ME : : DI : EA; and therefore DI is given. Again, AB : AI : : EF : ED a given ratio, and consequently DI is given. Again, AB : AI : : EF : ED is also a given ratio, and AB is given in length and position. The point I is therefore given in position. To centre I, and radius ID, describe a circle; and since this circle is given in magnitude and position, the line TD, which touches the circle at D is also given by position. Hence the following :—

Construction.

Let the line joining the centres A and B of the given circles meet them at L and C. Make AI : IB equal the given ratio; and AM : MB : : AL : BC. To centre I and radius ID, equal a fourth proportional to MA, AL, MI, describe a circle, and draw the line TNK to touch it. This is the line required; as is evident from the Analysis. Two such lines may be drawn, since D may be on the upper, or under side of the circle ID.

PROPOSITION VIII.

To describe a circle, through a given point, to touch two other circles, given in magnitude and position.

First Construction.

Let A, B, be the centres of the given circles, C the given point. (*Fig.* 13.) Join A, B, and produce it to K, making AK : BK : : AX : BY, the radii of the given circles. In KC produced take KC.KM = KY.KX;—then a circle through the points C, M, to touch the circle (A) will be that required. The demonstration is sufficiently obvious.

Second Construction.

Let A, B, be the centres of the given circles, T the given point. (*Fig.* 11.) Draw from T, to the given circles, the tangents TR, TV;—and also TNK through T, by Proposition VII, making EK : FN : : TR^2 : TV^2. Join TF, TE, cutting the circles in I and L :—then a circle through I, T, L, will be that required.

Demonstration.

Join LI, which produce to meet the circles in C, D :—draw ED, FC; and through F draw GO parallel to KN

meeting ET in O; and draw OQ parallel to EK. Now, by construction, EK : FN : : TR^2 : TV^2 : : ET.TL : TO.TL. Hence FT.TI = TO.TL; and therefore the triangles OTF and TLI are equiangular. But since OG is a tangent at F, the angle OFT = TLI = FCI; and the triangles FIC and TLI are also equiangular. Again, draw the tangent *m*E*n*;—and the angle TOF = TIL = OE*n* = EDL. Whence the three triangles DEL, TLI, IFC, are equiangular;—and therefore the circle through T, L, I, touches the circles (A), (B), in L and I.—Q. E. D.

Scholium.

The first construction is a simplification of that given by Vieta as Problem IX of his *Apollonius Gallus*, which forms Problem XIII of Lawson's translation. By means of the external, or internal, centre of similitude of the two given circles, a second point is determined through which the required circle must pass, and thus the problem is reduced to that of drawing a circle through two given points to touch a given circle. This method has been followed by Leslie, Wright, Morton, Colenso, Potts, Todhunter, Mulcahy, McDowell, and Reynaud. Catalan finds M, by means of a circle through C, X, Y. Poncelet draws *any* secant through K cutting both circles, and thus finds three points through which his auxiliary circle passes. His construction in the *Applications* is almost identical with the one he gave in the *Correspondance Polytechnique*, pp. 271-3, Vol. II;—and M. Cauchy gave a somewhat different construction in Vol. I, p. 194, of the same journal. M. Hatchette, the editor, terms this solution very elegant, but it has since been much simplified. Garnier, in his *Reciproques*, gives both Vieta's and Cauchy's constructions, and Housel, in his *Géom. Super.* deduces a solution from the more general case of a fourth circle touching three others. This is also the method adopted by M. Ritt.

Simpson's solution, as given in his *Geometry*, Problem 48, page 246, is not an elegant one; but he gains in brevity of

demonstration what he loses by prolixity in construction. Newton has also a complicated analysis in Problem 47 of his *Arithmetica Universalis*, where he deduces not only Vieta's method of construction, but also a construction of the more general problem previously noticed. The *Mathematical Companion*, for 1811, contains two solutions, both of which involve variations of Vieta's method by means of Radical Axes and Centres of Similitude, and reduce the problem to that of drawing a circle through two points to touch a given circle. The second process is by Mr. Swale, who reconsidered this problem in his *Apollonius*, pp. 48-9, and gave the two following methods of construction; the demonstrations of which are contained in his paper "On Tangential Circles."

I. "Let M be the given point; AI, BK, the radii of the "two given circles. Draw the tangents MT, MV, and join "M, B. Take MB : MS : : BV : S*e* : : $MT^2 : MV^2$; and let "P*e* touch the circles AP, S*e* :—then MP, M*e*, determine I, "K, the points of contact."

II. "Draw tangents MT, MV; and in AB take AR : RB ": : $MT^2 : MV^2$; and AL : LB : : AT : BV. Let MN *touch* "the circle RN, making LB : LR : : BV : RN ;—then NL "determines *p*, P : and MP, M*p*, determine I and K."

Dr. Robert Simson, in his *Opera Reliqua*, pp. 20-23, *Appendix*, by a masterly analysis reduces the problem to that of describing a circle through three given points. His construction also requires the Lemmas which Pappus, in his *Mathematical Collections*, pp. 220-231, (Commandine's edition, 1589,) says are requisite for the construction given by Apollonius himself. This may therefore be considered as a more accurate restoration than that by Vieta. He supposes A, B, the centres of the given circles, (*Fig.* 13,) and C the given point. The external centre of similitude, K, is then found, and the point M upon KC determined by making KC . KA = KB . KM. From M and C the lines ML, CL,

are inflected, by Prop. 117, Book VII, Pappus, to the point L in the circumference of (A), so that the intersections G and E shall be *in directum* with K. Then a circle through the points C, F, E, will be that required, as is obvious from what precedes. Wright, in his *Solutions to Cambridge Problems*, pp. 8-9, gives a second construction to this proposition, very nearly identical with that given by M. Poncelet in the *Correspondance*. The demonstration to the second construction is due to Mr. John Davis, of Clonakilty, Ireland.

Proposition IX.

To describe a circle to touch three circles anyhow given in magnitude and position.

First Construction.

Let A, B, C, (*Fig.* 14), be the centres of the three given circles, L, M, N; and suppose that they are not all equal, and that L is not greater than M or N. With centre B, and radius equal to the difference of the radii of M and L, describe a circle; and with centre C, and radius equal to the difference of the radii of L and N describe another circle. Describe a circle through A to touch these latter circles in G and H, and its centre O will be that of the circle required. The demonstration is obvious.

Second Construction.

Let K be the radical centre of the three given circles (*Fig.* 15), and LN one of the four axes of similitude. Find Q, R, S, the poles of LN with respect to each of the three circles; join KQ, KR, KS, meeting the circles in A and D, B and E, C and F, respectively. The circles through the points D, E, F; and A, B, C, will touch the three given circles. In the same manner, by means of the other three axes of similitude, three other pairs of circles can be described touching the given circles. For LN is the radical axis of the two circles ABC, DEF, and also an axis of similitude of the three given circles. K is also the radical centre of these three circles; and therefore the poles of LN with respect to the three given circles lie on the three chords of contact at Q, R, S.

Scholium.

Mr. Swale, in the *Apollonius*, pp. 51-55, after giving *four* methods of construction for the case when the circles touch each other, observes, that "the analytical demonstration" given by Alexander Anderson, in his *Variorum Problematum Practice*, is defective. He then adds the two following methods of construction "when the given circles are anyhow "posited":—

I. "Let A, B, C, be the centres, and AM, BN, CV, the "radii of the given circles. In AB and AC produced take "AP : PB : : AM : BM; also AQ : QC : : AN : CN; and let "AP, AQ, meet the circles A, B, C at H, R; h, r; take Pl, "Qn, mean proportionals to PH, Ph, and QR, Qr. Let the "circles Pl, Qn, intersect at M, N, and describe a circle with "its centre in MN touching the circles B and C. This is the "circle required."

II. "Determine the position of MN as in (I); draw BM "perpendicular to MN; take ME = MB; rn = Bh; and let "D be the centre of the circle passing through B, E, and "touching the circle on Cn. Then DC, DB, PK, determine "L, K, I."

The demonstrations follow from what is given in the paper on "Tangential Circles." Mr. Swale gives several corollaries to his constructions which fully prove that he was well acquainted with both radical axes and axes of similitudes under other names. His third deduction defines the *external* axis of similitude of (A), (B), (C); and his fourth the radical axis upon which is situated the centre of the circle of contact. The first construction (page 47) is the same in principle as that given by Vieta as Problem X of his *Apollonius Gallus*, and forms Problem XIV of Lawson's translation. This method has been followed by Newton, Leslie, Morton, Colenso, Cresswell, Todhunter, McDowell, Wright, Reynaud, Lamè, Catalan, and several others. Hirsch, in his *Geometry*,

gives an algebraical solution; and the late Professor Hearn not only gave a curious relation amongst the radii of the *eight* circles which solve the problem, in Vol. I, p. 228, of the *Mathematician*, but he included this, and several kindred problems, in pp. 27-31 of his treatise *On Curves of the Second Order*. Sir Isaac Newton again solves the problem by means of the intersection of two hyperbolas in Lemma XVI, Book I. of the *Principia;* and there is a similar investigation in l'Hospital's *Conic Sections*, Book X. Simpson also has a solution on similar principles in his *Select Exercises*, where the geometrical construction is deduced from an algebraical investigation. There are two algebraical solutions in the *Lady's Diary* for 1732-3, by Messrs. Turner and Lovatt; one by trigonometry in the *Appendix* to Leybourn's *Diaries;* and another by M. Binet in Tome X of the *Journal Polytechnique*. Carnot indicates a solution in page 190 of his *Géométrie de Position;* and extends it to circles on the sphere in page 415 of the same work. Puissant, in his *Problèmes*, gives two solutions—one algebraical and the other geometrical—after the manner of Gergonne.

M. Gergonne first gave his method of construction in a memoir which he presented to the Academy of Turin in 1814; and an extract from this is contained in Tome IV, pp. 349-359, of his own *Annales des Mathematiques*. In Tome VII of the same journal, pp. 289-303, he gives a more extended account of the co-ordinate analysis by which he had been conducted to his elegant construction of all the points of contact. The superiority of this method soon attracted the attention of geometers, and led to many re-investigations, and some modifications of the general process. The second construction given above is identical with that by Gergonne, and is extracted from Art. 254 of McDowell's excellent volume of *Exercises*. Gaultier de Tours, in the *Journal Polytechnique*, for 1813, made a near approach to this method,

but he failed to deduce the relation between the radical centres and the poles of the axes of similitude. Durrande, in Tome XI of the *Annales*, gives a lengthy paper on the contacts of circles, in the course of which he deduces Gergonne's construction from geometrical considerations alone, and adds another elegant method for constructing the same problem. Poncelet, in the same volume of the *Annales*, gives an investigation by means of the properties of similitude, and deduces a very elegant construction, which is nearly the same as that contained in his *Applications*, from a memoir begun at Saratoff when a prisoner of war. His first solution in the work just mentioned involves the properties of radical axes; and by continually reducing the general problem to simpler cases, he deduces a very elegant construction. In his second solution he reduces one of the circles to a point, as in Vieta's method, and, lastly, finds that the problem depends upon describing a circle through two given points to touch a given circle. Steiner considered this problem of contact in Crelle's *Journal;* and an abstract of his essay is reproduced, with notes, in Tome XVIII of Gergonne's *Annales*. His analysis leads directly to the construction given by the editor. Plucker, in Tome XVIII of the same journal, gives a lengthy co-ordinate investigation, from which he deduces three modes of constructing the tangential circles, one of which is again identical with that by Gergonne. He adds constructions for several of the particular cases which arise from considering one or more of the radii to become equal to zero, or to infinity. Bobillier, in his *Géométrie*, somewhat simplifies the geometrical analysis; and both this and Gergonne's construction are adopted by Catalan in his edition of La Fremoire's *Théorèmes et Problèmes*, Paris, 1852.

M. Mention gives several relations amongst the radii, in Tome XVIII of Terquem's *Nouvelles Annales;* and M. Bauer, in Tome XIX, obtains the same and other relations by means

of Determinants. Mannheim, as well as MM. Serret and Stephan, in Tomes XII, also in II and V, N.S., give neat investigations of the same problem. A very remarkable paper by M. Barbier occurs in Tome IV, pp. 313-318, N.S., where he shews that the general problem may be reduced to that of inscribing a triangle in a given circle so that its sides may pass through three given points in the same right line. He adds an elegant construction by means of the properties of the centres of similitude. M. Ritt has given an elegant investigation by means of co-ordinates, from which Gergonne's construction readily follows. There is also a very clear and concise co-ordinate solution in pp. 114-118 of Dr. Salmon's *Conics;* and in which the advantage of searching for the determination of the points of contact is distinctly pointed out. The purely geometrical analysis is then added; which has been followed almost literally by Housel, Chasles, Mulcahy, Townsend, Hart, and Casey;—the last of whom has given a series of curious relations amongst the eight circles of contact in Vol. V, pp. 318—322, of the *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics.*

It may not be uninteresting to note how all the particular cases may be derived from Proposition IX.

1. When the radii of the three given circles become zero, we have Euclid IV, 5.
2. When all the radii become infinity, we derive Euclid IV, 4.
3. If two of the radii become zero, and the third infinity, we have two points and a right line, or Proposition I.
4. When one of the radii becomes zero, and the other two infinity, we have one point and two right lines, or Proposition II.
5. When two of the radii become infinity we have Proposition III, since there are then two right lines and one circle.

6. If two of the radii become zero, we have then two points and one circle, or Proposition IV.
7. When one radius becomes zero, and another infinity, we have Proposition V.
8. If only one radius becomes infinity, we have Prop. VI.
9. When one radius becomes zero, we have two circles and one point, which answer to Proposition VIII;—and so on for any other variations of the data.

The Ancients usually commenced with the most simple cases and gradually worked up to the more complicated by a series of easy and natural steps. The Moderns mostly adopt the reverse process and deduce all the particular cases from a discussion of the most general. Apollonius, Vieta, and Swale may be cited in illustration of the first method;—and the second mode of procedure might be abundantly exemplified from the writings of Monge, Poncelet, and Chasles.

INVENTORY OF STANLOW.

By Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D., F.R.S.L., F.S.A.,
Præcentor and Prebendary of Chichester Cathedral.

(Read 7th March, 1872.)

I have been so fortunate as to find among the miscellanies of the Exchequer in the Public Record Office an Inventory of Stanlaw, at once the parent and cell of Whalley Abbey, the inventory of which was printed by the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1867.

This Abbey was founded in 1173, by John, Constable of Chester, who desired that it should be called no longer Stanlawe, but Blessed Place. Henry de Lascy, Earl of Lincoln, transferred the community to Whalley, owing to the frequent inundations of the sea, on the feast of St. Ambrose, 1296. (Monasticon, 906.) The bull of P. Nicholas IV, giving the pontifical sanction, was dated in 1283; the interval, no doubt, being occupied in erecting conventual buildings. The parish church was granted in the latter year. The Abbey held the church of Eccles and a moiety of Blackburn.

["Near unto Poole we see also Stanlow, now a farm of the said "Mr. Poole's. But there was a Monastery founded by the famous Lacy, "constable of Chester, about the year 1173, taking the name from "Staney hill; but for the unruliness of the Mersey water they misliked "their seat there, and found means to be translated from thence to "Whaley in Lancashire." *Webb's Itinerary, cir.* 1601.]

The Inventory of the Gudds and Cattalls at the Sell of Stanelawe, belonyng to the late Monastry of Whalley, taken and examyned before Rychard Snew, Esquyer, and Thomas Burgoyn, audytors, the xvii day of Aprell, in the xxviii yere of the reign of Kyng Henry the Eght.†*

THE CHAPELL. A vestment of rede sylke bawdykyn,‡ with all thyngs§ thereunto belonyng for the prest, without any deacon or subdeacon.

another vestment of olde dornyxe,‖ with all thyngs therunto belonyng for the prest.

one challes of sylver with a patton parcell gylt the vale¶ of liij*s.* iiij*d.*

on other olde vestement to serve for lent, cheked without an albe.

ij old alter clothes.

an alter table of allyblaster with a blewe clothe hangyng before the same.

on image of our *Lady of Grace*, olde gylte, with playte of sylver opon the ffeyte, and xv pens naylled abowte the tabernacle.

Image of wode of Saynt Michell.

on lytyll image of allyblaster of Saynt Katryn.

on other image of allyblaster of Saynt John Baptyst.

ij crewets.

ij sacryng bells [rung at the elevation of the host.]

on old dyoper towell

at the ende of the sayd alter an almery** of wode.

on candylstyk of ierne.††

ij alter candylstyks of latten.

ij newe tapers of waxe lettyll wastyd.

dyverse other small candylls of waxe hangyng before the sayd image of our Lady.

on lampe hangyng in brasse.

ij new trenells‡‡ of wax lytylle wasted.

on alter clothe to hange before the alter ffrenged with rede sylke bawdykyn.

* Whalley was examined March 23rd, in the same year, or twenty-five days before, by the Earl of Sussex and others of the King's counsell.

† Cotton. Titus F. iii, 6.

‡ Cloth stiff with gold, supposed to have originated in Babylonia or Bagdad. Hence in Italian, *Baldacchino*, a canopy of state from Bagdad.

§ The appurtenances, *i.e.* albe, amice, fanen (maniple), stole and girdle. (*Sacred Archæology*, 37.)

‖ Coarse damask, so called from Doornix or Tournay. (*Ibid.* 229.)

¶ *i.e.* Value.

** *Armarium*, for holding the sacred plate and books, [also the chrism used in baptism and confirmation, and the holy oil for the sick.]

†† Iron. ‡‡ Trendles, long wax tapers. (*Sac. Arch.* 588.)

on other dyoper towell.
on olde hangyng for lent, to hange before the alter.
on lytyll pyllowe to ly the boke opon, at the mast tym.
on old maseboke of parchment.
on old processyonor crosse of brasse.
on lytyll bell hangyng in the ende of the Chapell.
on pyxe of brasse with a canopy.*

Cattell xxij; whearof iiij of on yere olde; v of ij yers hold; v of iij yers old; and other iij of iij yers hold called effers; and v kyen.
ij oxen claymed by Antony Derwen [Derwent.]
on horse ij mares and on colt wyche mares and colt are claymed by Antony Derwete [Derwent] and John Whyttacar. [*Marg.* sold for xxxij*s.* iiij*d.*]
v score sheype and xxxij lambes.
vij swyne.
an olde baner clothe of old tuyke.

in the Berne by estymacyon on vj thrayf† of unthrashen barly corne.

in the Garner by estymacyon iij hopers of barly and peyse together; on bushell of grene peyse claymed by Willm. Whyttell; on busshell of whete.
xvj busshells of barly by estymacyon.

Owt of the Servants Chamber j crowe‡ of yerne; j spade.
on teyme§ of yerne; ij yoks; iiij payer of old trase; on payer of canvas sheyts; on blankett; ij coverletts; on bedecase; now layde into the Chapell.
in the sayd chamber, on camale|| or tubbe.

In the Madens Chamber on payer of canvas sheyts; on coverlett; on blanket; on matteres verey old; nowe broughte into the Chappell.

Owt of the buttery on measelen¶ bason, and an ewer verey olde and broken; on chaffyngddyshe; ij counterfetts** otherwyse called potengers†† of pewter, whereof on olde; ij candylstykks of latten brought into the Chappell.
In the seyd buttery an old caunle|| or tube; on old almery; on old cofer, and iij stands.

* A tent-like covering for the pendent pyx. (*Ibid.* 111.)
† Twelve sheaves. [In some parts of the country, twelve sheaves make a shock or "stook," and twenty-four sheaves or two stooks a *thrave.*]
‡ A gavelock, or crow-bar. § An ox-chain.
|| Kimnel a tub generally; Kembing in *Linc.* a brewing vessel; Chaucer has Kemelin a tub; *North of Ireland*, Kimlin.
¶ Maslyn, brass. ** Imitations, perhaps, of silver.
†† Poringers with ears; the word is still used in Devonshire.

Owt of the KECHIN iij brasse potts; ij brasse posnets*; on old brasse pane; on ffrying pan; vij pewter dyshes; on chaffyngdyshe; ij old cobyernes†; iij spytts; on brandyerne‡; brought into the Chappell.

In the BREWYNG HOUSE on brewyng leade; iij tubs; on troughe; ij old stands.

In the WAYNHOUSE§ ij carts; on ladder; ij newe plowes.
out of the same waynhouse, on payr of plowyernes, sett into the chapell.
In the same waynhouse on plowe; and on harrowe. [*Marg.* sold for iij*s.* iiij*d.*]
within the compase of the hole house xiij bedstocks.
ij bukketts fallen in to the well.

In the HALL on lay borde; on ffourme; on lytyll counter||; iiij queshens; iij charis; and glasse in the ij wyndowes of the same hall, by estymacyon xviij ffeyte.
on croft¶ called.....sawen** with peyse conteyng by estymacyon.....

ij crofts at the COWHOUSE sawen with ots, by Jamys Bushell and Willm. Daymar for half parte.

MEM. That Willm. Whyttell is admytted to the possessyon, custody, and kepyng of the sayd Sell, with the appurtenauncs, and all the gudds and cattalls afforesayd, to the Kyngs use untyll the Kyngs pleasor be further knowen.

* Little pots. † Dogs for the spit. ‡ Andiron.
§ Wain, *Sax.*, a cart or waggon; a cart drawn by oxen.—*Bailey.*
|| A coverlet for a bed. ¶ A small enclosure. ** Sown.

ON THE REMAINS OF SOME OLD BLOOMERIES, FORMERLY EXISTING IN LANCASHIRE.

By James Kerr, Esq.

(Read 4th April, 1872.)

Bloomery is the name given to the open-air furnace, formerly in use in this and other countries, for the reduction of metallic ores by means of wood-charcoal. The term is derived from the Saxon, *bloma*, a mass or lump, referring to the form taken by the smelted metal, and is still in use among iron furnace-men, though in a somewhat modified sense; the name "bloomery" being now given to the first forge through which iron passes after it is smelted, while the term "bloom," is applied to the mass of iron when it has passed through the "bloomery," or, in other words, has undergone the first hammering.

A bloomery formerly consisted of a low cupola, constructed of clay or stone, the fire in which was fanned by the wind, through apertures left for that purpose, the amount of air admitted being regulated by the opening or closing of the apertures, in accordance with the strength of the breeze, or the intensity of the heat required, for the various stages of the roasting and smelting processes.

The remains of this class of primitive bloomeries are found in all parts of this country, where iron smelting was carried on by means of wood-charcoal, prior to the use of mineral coal and the artificial blast, and may be seen at the present day in the Forest of Dean; vicinity of Bath; Kent; at Maresfield, in Sussex; Staffordshire, &c.; and, nearer home, at Worsbro' Dale, Barnsley; Hunsworth Wood, Horseforth; Low Moor, Bradford; Hebden Valley; Saddleworth, &c.; Forest of Rossendale and neighbourhood; and notably in

the district of Coniston in Furness, where both the ore and the wood for the charcoal existed in rich abundance.*

Heaps of scoriæ are also reported to exist on the moors between Todmorden and Colne in this county, and between Midhope-stones and Glossop, on the borders of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Some of the latter, however, may have been connected with the smelting of lead ore. The remains of the two bloomeries I saw in Saddleworth, (my acquaintance with which I owe to John Hirst, jun., Esq., of Dobcross,) are situated, the one on Cinder Field, and the other at the lower extremity of South Clough, both a little higher up the valley than Diggle railway station. From the latter, I brought away some scoriæ, and a small portion of an earthen vessel resembling the rim of a crucible.

I may here remark, that all the bloomeries I have yet met with in this part of the country are situated on the sides of valleys, and not on the highest ground in their respective localities, probably for the two-fold reason that the breeze on the most elevated points would often have been too strong for the roasting process, while the lower position would generally be more contiguous to the fuel.

The remains which I shall first describe were discovered on June 26th, 1870, by Mr. James Ashworth, of Waterfoot, while excavating at Millar Barn Meadow-wood, on the north side of the turnpike road, and opposite the Newchurch railway station, in the Forest of Rossendale, North-east Lancashire; and on the 6th August, following, my attention was directed to them by Thomas Aitken, Esq., J.P., of Bacup, who was wishful to have my opinion upon them, as those who had previously seen them had not been able to determine what they were. From the appearance they presented, the position they occupied, and the presence of the scoriæ and debris upon and adjacent to the site, I had little difficulty in coming to the conclusion that they were the remains of an old bloomery.

* The old bloomeries of Coniston, and their extinction in the time of Queen Elizabeth, will supply sufficient materials for a separate paper.

They were situated on the west side of a hill, and pretty well exposed to winds coming up the valley of the Irwell. The form of the basement was that of an imperfect circle, having a diameter of twelve feet from north to south, and ten feet from west to east, being truncated on the western side, from which, running towards the centre of the circle, there was a kind of flue, having a concave, or inverted arch-like bottom, measuring five feet in length, two feet nine inches in width, having perpendicular sides, which, when first seen, were some ten or twelve inches in height. The purpose of this flue was, no doubt, for the admission of air to the centre of the cupola, and possibly, also, to serve as a receptacle for the smelted metal, and a channel for its egress. The debris within the circle consisted of stones, of the kinds common in the vicinity, along with drift-limestones, irregularly shaped lumps of clay burnt to the consistency of brick, scoriæ, and a few pieces of wood-charcoal; but no coal, coal-cinders, or unsmelted ore. The stones were changed, by calcination, to a strong red colour, and along with the clay showed indications of having been subjected to intense heat. The scoriæ was vitrified, but was neither so heavy, nor so compact or *slaggy*, if the expression be allowed, as that of our modern furnaces. Around the site were large lumps of scoriæ, either loose, or forming part of the adjoining field-walls; and Mr. Ashworth told us that a road, of about 60 yards long and 3¾ yards wide, which led up to the bloomery and terminated there, was formed entirely of scoriæ, to the depth of 18 inches at the top, and thinning out to 6 inches at the lower extremity. From fifty to sixty loads of this material were carted away and ground down by the mortar-mill, to supply the place of sand, the remainder being otherwise disposed of in levelling the street which now occupies the place of the old road. It is much to be regretted that an opportunity of examining those remains was not afforded prior to their mutilation, when a much larger amount of information might have been ob-

tained from them, than was possible at the time I first saw them.*

From the foregoing, and also from the descriptions given of the remains of old open-air furnaces, found in other localities, it would appear that a bloomery was a temporary erection, loosely constructed of stones found on the spot, having the interstices filled with clay, where not left open for the introduction of air, and not constructed of fire-clay, brick, "fire-stone," or other materials brought from a distance, except in cases where necessity compelled this to be done. It is also probable that the cupola was partially taken down at the conclusion of each smelting process, that it might be emptied of scoriæ and refilled with ore; and, if so, this would account for the fact, that the *dome* of these old furnaces is not found intact, when they are discovered in these modern times.

The discovery of the bloomery I have described, led me to make inquiry as to the presence of scoriæ in other localities, which resulted in several others being found; and from information I have received, I have reason to believe that further search may be rewarded by the discovery of several more.

In the course of my inquiries I heard of a place called "Cinder Hill," the name of which led me to hope that the remains of a bloomery might possibly exist in the locality, and on visiting the place, my expectations were realized.

On reaching the farm of Nook, accompanied by the Rev. Robert Maden, of Ramsbottom, we found an old gentleman, Mr. John Knowles, now in his 83rd year, who, with his ancestors, had resided in that district for many generations; of him we inquired the origin of the name "Cinder Hill," but without giving him the slightest hint as to the object we

* Since the above was written every vestige of this bloomery has been swept away—the calcined stones and the scoriæ scattered about in the adjoining wood and forming part of the field-walls, being the only evidences left of its former existence.

had in view, when he at once pointed out a rising ground on the left bank of Red Brook, on which a "a very old tradition" affirmed that the process of iron smelting had been formerly carried on, and stated that from a large bank of "cinders" (scoriæ) left on that field, the farm had derived its name of "Cinder Hill." He also stated that within his own recollection, "about fifty years ago, the greater portion of the "'*cinders*,' which then stood in a large bank some four feet "in height, were carted away to mend roads with." In confirmation of this statement, I have found on enquiry that this "large bank of cinders," and the manner in which it was disposed of, is well remembered by several of the old inhabitants of the district. On examining the site, which is in front of the farm house of Cinder Hill, Red Brook, north-west side of Holcomb Hill, and about two miles from Ramsbottom, and the like distance from Summerseat railway station, we found specimens of the scoriæ, which were until recently very abundant, and are even now pretty numerous, and of various sizes. I may here remark that the Red Brook valley is one of those isolated localities, in which the native trees and shrubs of this ancient forest-district were most likely to remain the longest undisturbed, and was on that account very likely to be chosen as the site of a bloomery, at a time when wood, from which to make the necessary charcoal employed in smelting, was becoming scarce; and I may also say, that all the places in which the bloomeries now in question were situated, partake of the same character.

Another bloomery seems to have existed on the farm of Priest-Booth, which is about three miles from Bacup, on the Todmorden road, and situated at the upper extremity of a gully, known as "Sunder Clough," or "Saunder Clough," both names being suggestive of *Cinder* Clough, *cinders* being the name given by the peasantry to scoriæ.

Mr. Thomas Schofield, of Crown Farm, Crawshawbooth, and formerly tenant of Priest-Booth, states to me that he was

some years ago digging up peat soil adjacent to Sunder Clough, when "he met with a bed of 'cinders' (scoriæ) of "such extent, as to oblige him to remove his operations to "another place;" and though I have not yet been successful in finding specimens of slag, probably from my not having anyone to point out the exact spot on which the scoriæ was found, and also from the surface-sward having been replaced on the removal of the subsoil, I have little doubt that further search will confirm the statements made to me, by both Mr. Schofield and his eldest son, which clearly indicate the former existence of a bloomery at this place.

At Smithy Croft, Rakehead, near the Stacksteads railway station, Rossendale, on the left bank of the Irwell, there stood some years ago the remains of an old "smithy and forge," which, according to an old and well-founded tradition, belonged for many generations in succession, to a family of the name of Ashworth, who carried on there the trade of working cutlers, and whose descendants, even to the present time, frequently receive the distinctive designation of the Cutler-Ashworths, and are occasionally individually named: "John "Cutler," "Edmund Cutler," &c.

The old tradition, as related to me by Mr. Edmund Ashworth, of Fairwell Farm, Brandwood, now in his 79th year, is, that "during the Wars of the Roses, (1450-1485,) a "man of the name of Ashworth, by trade a cutler, came from "Sheffield, and established upon Smithy Croft* a forge and "workshop," the remains of which, along with an abundance of "clinkers" (scoriæ), were often seen and are well remembered by him, and continued upon the croft until some years ago, when it was entirely broken up by quarrying operations. The tradition goes on to say that the cutlery business was continued here by this family until they became the owners

* The name "Smithy," is still associated with the sites of several old bloomeries at Coniston in Furness, which were also called "Bloom Smithies," there.

of Boars Greave, in Cowpe, to which they ultimately removed.* In West's *Antiquities of Furness*, the names "Smithy," and "Bloom Smithy," are frequently given to old bloomeries there, and they are also called "Forges;" we should, therefore, be led astray were we to conclude that the establishment at Rakehead was merely a smithy and forge, in the modern acceptation of the terms, and we shall see in the sequel that about 1564, the cutler would probably be compelled to smelt iron for himself, if he had not done so at an earlier period.†

The tradition that the Ashworth family were cutlers, and resided in the vicinity of the croft on which their smithy and forge are reputed to have stood, is supported by a lease of lands let to them by the authorities of Whalley Abbey, for nineteen years, on 8th March, 10th Henry VIII (1518); and in the Coucher Book of Whalley,‡ the same persons are named as holding the same lands at the time the survey of the Abbey was taken, after its dissolution. The lands were those of "Brendwoode and Cowhope," now Brandwood and Cowpe, on part of which stands Smithy Croft. The next set of documents are three leases, of a "ffarmeholde wite thapp'-"tuncs," called "Ellebancke in Spotlande," same locality as the above, in which the tenants are designated "John "Assheworthe of Greens, cuttler," and "John Assheworthe, "his sone, cuttler." The first of those three leases was made 4th May, 23rd Elizabeth (1561); the second, with some alterations, on 1st July of the same year; and the third, in the "5th James the Firste of England, and of Scotland the "40th" (1608). From these leases we see that the Ashworths of Greens, which is in the same locality with Smithy Croft, were *cutlers* from before 1561 to after 1608; and this brings us down to the period at which we shall subsequently see

* Mr. Edmund Ashworth is the immediate descendant of Mrs. Betty Ashworth, who was the last direct descendant of the "Cutler-Ashworths." Mr. Ashworth's father was one of another and distinct family, known as the "Shore-"Ashworths."

† See West's *Antiquities of Furness*, Close's Edition, pp. 26, 27, *et infra*.

‡ Vol. iv, pp. 1228–9, Chetham Series.

there is reason to conclude that the bloomery near Newchurch had about ceased to be in operation, and forty-four years beyond the time when those in Furness were extinguished, viz., 1564. As the Cutler-Ashworth tradition, which has, as we shall still further see, an intimate connexion with the Rossendale bloomeries, is supported by the above documentary evidence, for a central period of at least a century, there being in 1518, seven families of them distinctly named as tenants of the lands on which Smithy Croft stands, and in 1608 at least two, father and son, both cutlers, holding Greens and Elle Bank in the same locality, it seems quite reasonable that it should be relied upon for both the previous and subsequent period which it covers.

We now come to the working of those bloomeries; and first, as to the fuel employed in them. That the fuel employed was wood-charcoal is pretty clearly indicated, (apart from the historical evidence of the Wentworth papers and other documents, and the reasons which we shall hereafter see were assigned for their extinction in Coniston, &c.,) by the entire absence of any remains of coal or coal-cinders, and the presence of pieces of wood-charcoal upon the sites which they occupied. And this is still more emphatically supported by the well-known fact, that without the aid of an artificial blast, the application of which was not then known in connexion with smelting operations, the requisite intensity of heat could not be obtained from mineral coal for the reduction of iron ore. Moreover, the localities in which the bloomeries of which we are now speaking, as well as others, were situated, namely, wooded districts, at a considerable distance from the then known sources of iron ore, indicate that they were placed there purely on account of the proximity of the necessary fuel, it being evidently less difficult to bring the compact ore from a distance, than to transport for many miles, a large quantity of bulky and cumbersome fuel, especially when, at that period, both had, at least in those isolated localities, to

be carried on the backs of pack-horses. On those and other grounds, to be mentioned hereafter, we can easily understand why bloomeries should be located at Kirskill, near Otley; Kirkby-Overblow; Pateley Bridge; &c., places all less or more distant from sources of iron ore.

This naturally leads to the question—what was the kind and source of the iron ore smelted in Rossendale and neighbourhood? In answering this two-fold question we would premise, that the sulphide of iron, or more correctly, the bisulphuret, the iron pyrites of our "bullion" and other mines, could not be converted into malleable iron by the processes then in use, and that the only ores then available for that purpose were the clay-ironstone, or earthy carbonate, of the coal measures, and the red ore, or oxide of iron, of Furness and district.

It would seem, at first sight, most probable that the ore employed would have been the clay-ironstone of West Yorkshire, or some similar or even less productive ore, if such could have been found nearer home. Unfortunately, however, for this conjecture, no less productive ore than that of Low Moor, &c., as we shall subsequently see, would have paid for the labour and the expense of reduction, and, moreover, no clay-ironstones exist in the coal mines of Rossendale and neighbourhood. But the strongest argument against clay-ironstone having been used is, that the comparatively small amount both of unextracted iron and of slaggy material left in the scoriæ found upon the sites of the bloomeries in question, point emphatically to the use of a richer and less refractory ore; and a comparison of the Low Moor ironstone with the Furness red hœmatite will also assist us in forming a conclusion upon this point.

A fair sample of the Low Moor ironstone contains 29 per cent. of iron, the red ore of Furness contains about 70 per cent., and yields about 60 per cent., and presuming the Low Moor stone to yield a similar proportion, it would produce

24·857 by the modern process, but by the old bloomery process the Low Moor stone, it is found, retained in the slag, on an average, no less than 22 per cent., thus yielding only 7 per cent., and hence in recent times it has been found remunerative to resmelt the old slag of the Low Moor and other bloomeries. Now, taking the furnaces of Rossendale, &c., to have been on a par with those of Low Moor, Saddleworth, &c., and presuming that a similar ore was used in both, we ought to have from both a slag of similar density, and retaining a similar amount of iron. Such, however, is not the case, for the slag of the Rossendale bloomeries is found, on comparison, to be much lighter, bulk for bulk, and to retain a much lower per centage of iron than the slag of those at Low Moor, Saddleworth, &c. This result could have been attained only by the use of a purer and richer ore than the clay-ironstone, and as the only richer ore accessible was that of Furness, it seems most reasonable to infer that the ore of that district was that which was used in the furnaces of Rossendale, &c. This inference is still further supported by the fact, that the red ore scoriæ, from the old bloomeries of Coniston, is found, on comparison, to be identical in character with that found on the sites of those in Rossendale, &c.*

The distance between Furness and Rossendale, &c., seems, at first sight, to be an objection to the inference above deduced; but when we consider that the ore could easily and cheaply be brought by water from Ulverston to Preston, and that the distance thence to the bloomeries in question is about the same as from Low Moor, &c., the ore at which was probably the nearest then known that would pay for the smelting, and when we take into consideration the superior quality and richness of the Furness ore, we find that it would in reality, after paying the extra carriage by water, be the cheaper of the two, although it might possibly cost a little more, weight for

* At this stage of the proceedings, specimens of the scoriæ found at Coniston and the other bloomeries referred to were produced, in confirmation of the statements advanced in the preceding part of the paper.

weight, seeing that the yield of iron would be at l
that of the clay-ironstone. Moreover, the cost of
port by land, in the days of those old bloomeries,
matter of time than of money, and, as is well k
was then of comparatively little value. The wat
and the food of the pack-horse driver, would in r
prise nearly the whole of the expense involved, l
price of the ore, for, as we have said, time, especi
the rural population, was but of little value, and
would feed on the lane sides then as in recent ti
limited cost of transport is well illustrated by th
even at the present day, in despite of railways and
pike roads, it pays a pack-horse owner to bring li
old king's highways, from Clitheroe to Rossendale.*

The difficulty of *distance* being thus, we think,
and the various other points in favour of this
remaining intact, it seems not only reasonable t
even more than probable, that the red hœmatite
was the ore smelted in the bloomeries of this distri

The next question that demands our attention is,
at which these bloomeries were in operation.

Some historians of the iron trade have referred al
furnaces to the time of the Roman occupation of th
but this is clearly an error, as is shewn by W
Antiquities of Furness, and also, among others, by
C. Miall, of Bradford, in a valuable article on
"Bloomeries in Yorkshire."† Beyond doubt, som
cupolas are of Roman age, as is attested by Ro
pottery, &c., found in or adjacent to their slag
Maresfield in Sussex, and also in Yorkshire and o

* Lime was thus brought from Ciltheroe to the Rossendale
1869; and not many years back this mode of carriage, especially
by no means uncommon.

† See Part II of "*The Yorkshire Archæological and T*
"*Journal*," pp. 110-115. From this very interesting article I
valuable assistance in the writing of this paper, and from it the qu
below are derived.

ties, indicating that they were in operation "during or soon "after the reigns of Nero, Vespasian, and Diocletian; but "that air-bloomeries were in use until a comparatively recent "date can be proved by an abundance of documentary evi-"dence;" and the "papers of the Wentworth family include "a contract for the supplying of wood and ore for iron "'bloms' at Kirskill, near Otley, in the 14th century." It was not until 1619 that Lord Dudley obtained a patent for the smelting of iron ore with pit coal, a mode of operation which was not successfully carried out until many years after that date. "The Sussex [wood] charcoal furnaces were not "blown out till 1790-1800, and those in Staffordshire sur-"vived nearly as long;" while in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Mr. Miall believes, that "the coke blast furnace "succeeded directly to the simple bloomery." And to the majority of the old bloomeries of West Yorkshire he assigns, as a highly probable date, the time of the Stuart kings and the Georges, or not much beyond that period; while "in the "neighbourhood of Low Moor open-air furnaces, of simple "construction, consuming wood only, were in existence when "the foundries, now so famous, began to use the coke blast "furnace."

Relative to the time at which the bloomery near Newchurch was in operation, there are several circumstances which will assist us in forming a reasonable surmise. In the first place, the discovery of it was made by the pulling down of a sycamore tree, which was growing directly over it, and had sent a tap-root down through the cavity formed by the flue, and taken good hold of the earth below. This tree had grown to the height of nearly forty feet, and the rings of annual growth, as counted by Mr. T. Aitken, numbered about one hundred. To the age of this tree must be added the time required for the decay of the structure, and for the subsequent accumulation of the soil over it, in which the tree was planted; and, taking the age of the tree at something under 100 years, and

the time required for the accumulation of the necessary amount of soil at over 200 years, we reach back to the reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603.

We have already seen that the presence of wood in the various localities was probably the principal inducement for the location of a bloomery in situations so far distant from sources of iron ore, and as Rossendale was disforested in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII, about 1500, at which time it contained a considerable extent of cultivated and pasture land, it seems likely that in the course of say 100 years thereafter (1600), the necessary wood for the charcoal fuel would have become so diminished in quantity, that the process of iron smelting could not have been profitably continued much beyond that period.

So long as the best quality of iron was produced in Furness, this district would probably be supplied from thence, either directly or indirectly; but when this source was at least crippled, if not entirely cut off, by the suppression of the bloomeries in High Furness, in the 7th Elizabeth (1564), the supply of this indispensable article must be otherwise obtained. West's account of this suppression is as follows, and forms a curious illustration of the manner in which commercial and manufacturing interests were dealt with in those days. After giving the above date, he goes on to say—" the woods being " greatly reduced, certain blomeries in High Furness were " suppressed, at the common request of the tenants of Hawks- " head and Colton, that the tops and croppings of these " woods might be preserved for the nourishment of the cattle " in winter. The blomeries, or iron smithies, were then " leased to Christopher Sandys, gentleman, and William " Sawrey, who paid 20 pounds annually to the Queen for the " wood they consumed." The tenants agreed to pay this sum, " which is called the bloom-smithy or wood-rent;" and the furnaces were extinguished. In consequence of this suppression, and the resulting derangement, if not paralysis,

of the iron supply, men of capital and enterprise would naturally commence smelting for themselves in available localities; and as the exportation of the Furness ore was not interfered with, they would, almost as a matter of course, at least in the first instance, employ it, on account of their workmen having been most accustomed to its use, the richness of its character, and the smallness of its bulk, &c. They would also select the places where wood was most easily accessible, and least expensive; and Priest Booth, Smithy Croft, Miller Barn, and Red Brook, being in districts possessing these necessary qualifications, would be sure to attract attention as suitable sites for bloom-smithies.

Looking at all the circumstances to which reference has been made, and others that might be named, such as the necessities of the case which probably gave them origin, and the comparatively limited supply of fuel, which would determine the duration of their operations, which may not, however, have been contemporaneous in all the four places named, the general age of these bloomeries may be taken at about 300 years, and their existence may be estimated to have continued for, say, some forty or fifty years, their use being presumed to be somewhat intermittent. As there are good grounds for believing that the Ashworth family carried on the cutlery business, say from 1480 to about 1700, or later, it is not unlikely that they also carried on iron-smelting for a longer period than is here assigned to the existence of the above bloomeries generally.

As to the ownership of the bloomeries forming the immediate subject of this paper, with the exception of the one at Smithy Croft, we are at present unable to speak; but it is very likely that the Cutler-Ashworths of Greenes, being engaged in the iron business, if not the actual proprietors, would have an intimate connexion with those at Priest Booth and Miller Barn, and also not improbably with the one at Cinder Hill, Red Brook.

A FEW REMARKS ON THE ARCHITE(OF CHESTER.

By Alfred Rimmer, Esq.

(Read 8th February, 1872.)

To some extent a peculiarity in the Architecture o pervades certain districts, and the excellent arran Mr. Thomas Rickman are not universally true. T very best that ever were offered or suggested ; but t some modification when applied generally in En The "decorated style," as Rickman terms it, may have prevailed over the whole of the fourteenth c at the close of this period the "perpendicular" ha taken its place. It is singular that in the Ches this style seems to have begun at a very early per there are buildings purely early-perpendicular ; same time the decorated architecture was being a used for buildings a quarter of a century after, i of England.

The most significant part of this is, that th general way the architecture of England march side with that of the Continent, there is no pe architecture on the Continent. There may be j of it at Harfleur, but so slight is it that it really no exception to the general rule ; while there are r of Normandy architecture in the diocese of Chester the windows might almost have been designed

Constance, and it might almost be supposed that the perpendicular architecture had its origin in the north and travelled southwards.

The Cathedral Church of Manchester, for example, was founded and built before the Chapel of Merton College, and yet the latter is often quoted as one of the best examples of fourteenth century architecture, and the former as a fifteenth century building.

Now beyond this, certain districts have peculiarities of architecture owing to the locality. In mountainous countries the general characteristic of churches is a long straight ridge, that contrasts vividly with the peaks and rocks that surround it; and the cold calm forms of Greek temples are quite lost when taken from their native fastnesses and transplanted into an English city. It is singular, also, that the flat low countries are preëminent for their tall spires and towers. The old designers well knew how a spire or tower would be lost in a range of hills, and they always fitted their work to the surroundings of the scenery; different from a plan that too often prevails in the present day, of designing a building or an office without the least calculation of how the salient points will compare with objects that are permanent and will always be seen when the building is. The low countries, called also the Fens and "Marshlands," are celebrated for their tall and graceful spires—the towers of Boston and Louth are unrivalled in the kingdom; while the product of Salisbury plain is Salisbury spire. In the times when these monuments of architecture were built, the country people came from considerable distances with farming produce; and in the rough roads which prevailed in England at that time, a tall landmark was a welcome sight. The journey to the market-town was commenced long before day-light, and the road often lay through trackless meadows. In catholic countries even now I have often seen the country people

refuse to part with their load of produce at a toll gate, a mile from the great church, so as not to be disappointed of the pilgrimage to their shrine.

The Cheshire churches do not, as a rule, form any very important figure in a county landscape. The roads had been formed in the earliest periods, and there were in addition plenty of natural landmarks where such things were required. They are rather noted for low stumpy towers, and generally unimposing features externally; and singularly enough, though it must have been in old times one of the wealthiest counties in England, not a great deal of ornament is lavished upon the churches; forming, in this, a singular contrast to the Fen counties, which a few hundred years ago must have been poor indeed, but which yet can boast of the noblest ecclesiastical remains in the kingdom.

One of the features that most calls for comment is the conical apse in Chester Cathedral that has lately been restored by Mr. Gilbert Scott, and that is so peculiar and uniform that it is well worth a journey from Liverpool to see it. There is probably nothing like it in England, though there are some remains of similar features in Normandy; these are not common even there, but probably in the neighbourhood of Caen they were of frequent occurrence. Their object is not very clear; indeed, in that respect, they may be almost classed with the low side windows or round towers that have been so fruitful a source of discussion among archæologists for the last twenty years. The most singular part of these apses is the flat side of them; that is devoid of any ornament and forms only a plain triangle next to the Cathedral walls.

We never thought, however, but that the roof of the south apse had been similar to that of the north and of the same moderate altitude. But on removing part of the later timber roofs of the south chapel and some of the rubbish which had accumulated beneath it, we found concealed by it portions of

the sloping surfaces of the old apse roof of that side. These were small in extent but potent in evidence. The first thing that struck us was their excessive steepness in slope, almost like the spire of a church, and on tracing up these slopes to their intersection, what was my surprise on finding they represented a stone roof of no less than forty-two feet high above the tops of the walls. The western side of this extraordinary structure we found to have been vertical, for a fragment of the lower part of it remains with the weather mould of the aisle roof upon it. Against the clerestory is the mark of another very high roof, running at right angles to this spire, and, as we find, intersecting with it. This is shown in all the old prints and still exists. We found then that we possessed ample proofs of the former existence of a feature which, though unique in England, is in several instances found in France, especially in Norrey in Normandy, where the radiating chapels at the east end are precisely similarly roofed. We found vestiges of its eavescourse at its intersection with the east wall; and on cutting into the modern wall below, we found remnants of the corner buttress, shown on the old plans; and of the window-jamb attached to it, as well as of the window of its southern face, so that, though we had not yet material for its reproduction, we had a good instalment of the necessary evidence. The double fact, that we possessed evidence of such an architectural curiosity, gave rise to the idea, at first timidly thought of, whether it might be considered lawful, under circumstances so exceptional, to remove the southern chapel, &c., &c. All remaining evidence of the details were then discovered bedded up in the walls!

There were no doubt continual emigrations of skilled labourers from the south, who left their impress upon the counties they visited, and contrived to utilize the country-people. We find, in some documents, payments to mere yokels for work on great churches such as we would only

expect to have done by skilful hands in the present day. The Cathedral Church at Chester is a wonderful example of the higher branches of what may be called architectural perspective, for in many instances it is considered only necessary now to make an exact copy of some window at any elevation, and place it in some other perspective, expecting that it will show to the same advantage as it did before. Take, however, a piscina in the north aisle of the chancel, and it is at once apparent that if this were elevated to a clerestory window—and it would in its outline make a very excellent one—the deep hollow mouldings would shut out the design from the eye. This is the more remarkable and the more valuable, as the chancel windows are themselves of the same period; but quite different in what is often thought of secondary importance—the contour of the mouldings—and this makes them apparent in all the various ramifications of the tracery, where the stone is properly cut away at the intersections to show the design.

There is a singular feature in the windows of Chester Cathedral, at least in a large part of them, that I do not know of in any other building, excepting only a few in the diocese of Chester—they are devoid of cusps: the most prominent feature, in fact, of all Gothic windows. The picturesque cloisters of Chester are entirely without cuspings. This feature is the more singular as it was not dictated by economy. There is nothing in all the Cathedral that gives countenance to any such a supposition; and there is a similar want in the windows of St. Peter's Church in Watergate Street, though the windows are—for late tracery—of excellent design. The fine church of Astbury, also, is without cuspings; and singularly also there is a window in the abbey buildings of St. John's, of much earlier date, that exhibits a similar want.

The woodwork of Chester is of almost unrivalled beauty. The hundred of Wirral was well supplied in former days with

oak, and oak carvers were celebrated. The Royal Forests of Wirral supplied the wood, and King Henry granted the Monks of St. Werburgh not only as much timber as they required, but venison for the use of the monastery; and many a buck has been consumed in the King's Grammar School in Abbey Court, which once was the refectory, and is yet of singular architectural beauty and merit.

This paper is intended only as mere introduction to a detailed examination of each building separately, where there are salient points or any peculiarity, and should opportunity be afforded, I shall always endeavour to place what I have to say as concisely as I possibly can, taking nothing for granted that I can ascertain for myself.

SIR RODERICK MURCHISON AND AUSTRALIAN GOLD FIELDS.

By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S., &c.

(Read 25th January, 1872.)

Eleven years ago I read a paper before this Soc
was published in the *Transactions* for 1860–61
period the condition of the gold reefs in Austral
clearly understood. Great difference of opinic
especially with regard to following "the veinstone
"by deep shafts, into the body of the rock"
Roderick Murchison warned the Australian miner
such cases "he has either found the gold diminish
"or so difficult to obtain, that the cost of extr
"usually been greater than the value of the metal.'

By all parties a great amount of credit was a
Sir Roderick Murchison, for having at an early peri
predicted "that gold would, sooner or later, be fo
great British colony." He "encouraged the u
"miners of Cornwall to emigrate and dig for g
"dug for tin in the gravel of their own district."
there were persons in Australia who regarded Sir
not as a benefactor, but as one who was throwing
in the way of those miners who sought wealth by sea
gold in Australia. In reading every scientific paper
in Australia, we find this sentiment prevails. The
November 8th, 1860, stated as follows:—

"Sir Roderick never believed in quartz, and any count
"faith in its quartz reefs would be certain to come to grief.
"get gold at depths of 300 and 400 feet; *Siluria* has said

"unknown what serious damage has been done to our gold-mining "reputation because Sir Roderick refuses to be convinced, or to alter "succeeding editions."

To account for this discrepancy we must explain that all metals, except gold, tin, and the rare metals, platinum, rhodium, iridium, and osmiam, are derived from lodes or reefs. But gold has been found principally in the alluvial deposits. It has, however, also been extracted from the reef, but has not thus been so profitably obtained. Sir Roderick was an advocate for seeking gold in the alluvial, but not in the reef. But stream works were operations of a very simple character, requiring neither the investment of capital, nor companies to work them. The most successful gold-seeking in Australia, that has come under my notice, was conducted by two youths, cousins, named Napier, unassisted by the capitalist, or by any other aid whatever. Such operations as these do not demand the support of the press. Mining companies, with their thousands of pounds of capital, secure the sole support of the various periodicals that have been called into existence by gold mining companies. With these Sir Roderick Murchison had no sympathy. They entertained different views; and consequently we should come to an opposite conclusion accordingly as we based our opinions on *Siluria* or on *Argus*.

Amongst those Australian geologists who supported Sir Roderick's views was Mr. Panton. Those opposed were Messrs. Thorpe and Pollard. Messrs. Selwyn and Acheson were doubtful on this subject, believing that further experience was required before this matter could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. At the time I read my former paper I was myself doubtful. The experience of all other gold-producing countries supported Sir Roderick's views; but, on the other hand, the gold fields of Australia surpassed in richness all others on the surface of the world. Before 1859 the largest nugget of gold ever known was found in 1824 on the

Asiatic side of the Ural Mountains. It was called the "Zarevo-Alexandrofsk pepita." This nugget, according to Sir Roderick, weighed 1152* ounces troy; its value being about £4,600. This was regarded as a discovery so remarkable, that the Emperor Alexander visited the spot, and a pyramid was erected to commemorate the event. This nugget has not been melted, but is still exhibited in the museum of the Imperial School of Mines at St. Petersburg. This "pepita" has been far exceeded by one discovered in Australia, known by the name of the "Blanche Barkley "nugget," weighing 1,743 ounces, which was melted down and realized about £6,900. This nugget was discovered by the two Napiers referred to above. Not only have the nuggets found in Australia been the largest, but the quartz from the lodes has contained larger pieces of solid gold than have been found in reefs in any other part of the world. From a lode in Victoria, quartz was extracted containing one solid mass of gold, weighing 156 ounces. This is also without parallel.

Founding their opinion on these facts, some Australian geologists believed that Australia would be found to be an exception to the general rule laid down by Sir Roderick Murchison, and that, in Australia, gold might be extracted from the reef with profit. But against this opinion it was contended by others that the high rate of wages paid in Australia would more than compensate for this advantage. The only countries where gold had been extracted from quartz with profit were those in which labour was very cheap and the matrix very soft, as was the case in the Brazils.

Our experience of gold mining in Australia, up to the present time, leads to the conclusion that although the sanguine expectations of the inhabitants of Australia, with regard to mines, properly so called, have not been realized,

* According to the *Penny Cyclopedia*, vol. xi, p. 291, this piece of gold weighed only about 276 ounces; but I should imagine that Sir Roderick Murchison's statement is more likely to be correct.

yet the expectation of Sir Roderick Murchison has not come to pass. In no other country has gold of such value been extracted from the quartz of the reefs or lodes, nor have we examples of paying quartz raised at such depths as in Australia. At Port Philip Company, Clunes, it is worked at 690 feet.* This, it must be remarked, is the only mine worked for twelve years by capitalists formed in the mother country that is not at present at a discount, although in 1860 some were at from £275 to £1,300 per cent. premium. Still, with regard to mines worked by Australian capitalists, there must be many that pay a good profit. It appears from official returns that, during the quarter ending the 30th September last, 181,769 ounces have been produced from quartz mines, employing 16,422 miners, and that the value of the machinery employed was £2,097,089, and that the number of square miles worked upon was 950. From these data there can be no doubt but that, to some Australian capitalists, contrary to past experience, it has been profitable "to follow "vein stone downwards, by deep shafts, into the body of the "rock." I therefore retain the opinion I expressed eleven years since, that "although a very large proportion of speculators "who superintend the outlay of their own capital, and a large "number of those who employ their own labour also, have "been eminently successful, it does not appear that there is "any encouragement, from the experiences of the past, for "adventurers in Great Britain to invest capital in Australian "gold mines."†

* The Portuguese Company, Streiglitz, have obtained auriferous quartz at a depth of 866 feet; and Coltemann and Tacchi Company, Sandhurst, at 720 feet, but whether the gold extracted defrayed the expenses I have no data to enable me to determine.

† *Transactions*, vol. xiii, p. 31.

THE FEE OF MAKERFIELD; WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF ITS LORDS, THE BARONS OF NEWTON.

By William Beamont, Esq.

(Read February 22nd, 1872.)

English historians have joined chorus in ascribing to our immortal Alfred the institution of hundreds and townships into which the country is now divided. Certain it is that when he resumed the throne after his temporary retirement, and found, owing to Danish misrule, the ancient police of the country in ruin, he first set himself to readjust and settle upon their present basis the shires of the kingdom, and then divided them into hundreds, and these again into vills, townships, or decennaries. But *fas est ab hoste doceri*, and from Denmark where hundreds, each under its own *centenarius*, had been known both as a civil and military division of the country for two hundred years, Alfred probably introduced that institution into England, although something similar to it had prevailed among the ancient Germans, from whom both the Franks who became masters of Gaul, and the Saxons who settled in England, were derived. In England, however, and particularly in the northern counties, it seems not to have been always necessary that a hundred should contain a hundred townships, for where a large district happened to belong to one owner, such a district, without reference to the number of its vills, was often constituted a hundred. Gayton in Cheshire, and Newton and Warrington

in Lancashire, became hundreds of this sort. (*Hist. Chesh.* ii, 275-285, and the Domesday Survey of South Lancashire.) Alfred's great achievement, of which he is entitled to the full merit, was his dividing the kingdom into tithings, decennaries, vills or townships, each containing ten families, and in each of which—an excellent way to preserve the peace—every man was made answerable for his neighbour, while in each there was a domestic tribunal where justice was administered to every man at his own door. Parishes which existed at this time as an ecclesiastical division were not the same as tithings, nor were their boundaries necessarily coincident with them. Of the vills or tithings of which I am to treat, a former seneschal of the district, who had the gift of song, in describing how they answered the call of the great Alfred to meet him with their forces in the field, has given us a sort of catalogue in verse—

On champing steeds,
Speed generous hearts, select where Winwick's brow
Uplifts the stately spire, and draws the feet
To sainted Oswald's pilgrim haunted well.

. . . . . .

Stalwart champions under banners bright,
Led by a haughty warrior, rush from the marge
Of Newton's willowed stream, and ample range
Of Macrefield, boasting its spread domain;
Whose garrison with battle-axes armed,
Its oak-crown'd fortress, and the barrow old,
Quit rear'd majestic o'er its sunken dell.
With these in friendly league come sinewy troops,
(Each in his grasp unscabbarded a brand,)
The flower of Golborne's Park and winding dale.
Impatient of restraint, on fire for fame,
Combine throng'd bands from Haydock's ample plain,
Or in coruscant armour sweep along,
Chivalry bred in Garswood's beauteous home,
Or emulous of equal fame, aspire
The valiant band, nursed where Bryn's swelling brow,
Protects its race, for prowess old renown'd.
Ready alike, Winstanley's generous line
Spreads from its lawns and closures fertile fresh.
While drawn from neighbour'd tracts adventurous rush
Comrades select o'er Culcheth's heathy range;

. . . . . .

Colleagued with whom the gallant veterans spring,
Impetuous sped, from Hindley's mansion site;
Or onward gathered till the Douglas' stream
Laves scenes yet sounding British Arthur's fame,
Where Wigan rears its burgh and busied homes,
Intent alike on triumph and to chase
Plunder and Pagan fury from the land.

(*Alfred*, by J. Fitchett, B. 44.)

Before we pass on, some of these places call for a few remarks; and first of these is Winwick. This place, like many others in South Lancashire, has its parish church placed at its southern end, as if to show the quarter from which the wave of population had first reached it. The learned Usher was of opinion that it was the Caer Gwentwic of Nennius, and had thence derived its name; and De Caumont gives us a castle in France called Vineck, a name which sounded by a French tongue would seem very like Winwick. But we need not go far to seek for an etymology of the name since it plainly is derived from the two Saxon words *win wick*, the place of victory.

On the first planting of the Northumbrian kingdom we might expect to find a fortress placed on its southern boundary, and such a fortress, with the king's palace near it, there was probably on the Mersey at Warrington.

The frequent inroads of their Mercian neighbours, however, caused the removal of the palace to Winwick, when the defence of the frontier was left to the garrison at Warrington, where king Oswald, the first of the Northumbrians to introduce Christianity into his dominions, had placed St. Elfin, probably one of the Icolmkill priests, whose name the Domesday Survey preserves to us, to instruct his people in the new faith. We are fortunate in knowing Oswald's history, and the date when he suffered martyrdom and was raised to saintship, which by inference gives us the date of an early Lancashire parish. The king, who had passed his early life in exile, and had so used his time as to improve his

great natural parts by study, was called home by the defeat and death of his uncle in battle in the year 638, when, mustering some forces, he encountered and defeated his enemies near Hexham, and slew their leader. He began his reign by establishing good laws, and teaching his people religion and submission to rule. Often when Aidan, one of his priests, was preaching to them Oswald might be seen acting as his interpreter, while such was his compassion to the poor that he often sent them food from his own table, which so won upon the good opinion of the people that they called him "The Bounteous Hand." But his envious and ambitious neighbour, Penda, soon found occasion to quarrel with him, and, having invaded his territories, surprised and slew him near Winwick on the 5th August, 642, which Spenser, assuming to be both a seer and a poet, foretells when he says :—

His foe shall a huge host into Northumber lead,
With which he godly Oswald shall subdue,
And crown with martyrdom his sacred head.

Near the place where he fell there is a well, which bears his name, and near the church there is one of those ancient wheel crosses called after Paulinus; but his most remarkable memorial is the church itself, which is dedicated to him, and round the cornice of which runs this monkish legend :—

Hic locus Oswalde quondam placuit tibi valde
Nortanhunbrorum fueras rex, nunque polorum
Regna tenes prato passus Marcelde vocato
Poscimus hinc a te nostri memor esto Beate.
(A line over the porch obliterated.)
Anno milleno quingenoque triceno
Sclater post Christum murum renovaverat istum
Henricus Johnson curatus erat simul hic tunc.

This place of yore did Oswald greatly love,
Northumbria's king, but now a saint above,
Who in Marcelde's field did fighting fall.
Hear us, oh, blest one, when here to thee we call.

. . . . . .

In fifteen hundred and just three times ten
Sclater restored and built this wall again,
And Henry Johnson here was curate then.

The pious prayer, "*Requiescat in pace,*" inscribed in old times over the grave of a saint, was but a piece of mockery, for the saint was but seldom allowed to rest in peace. King Oswald's fate was indeed especially hard, for he was buried piecemeal. His head and right arm, which at first were buried at Lindisfarne, were afterwards translated thence, and while his head was buried in St. Cuthbert's grave at Durham, his right arm was removed to Bamborough, where it was enclosed in a silver shrine. His left arm was in the possession of Wulstan, at Worcester, to which place also his body, which was first buried at Bardney, was afterwards removed. It is a sign of the high estimation in which the saint was held that a second head was found for him, which was enclosed in a niello shrine, and held in great reverence at Hildesheim, while a third arm, celebrated for its healing powers, was found for him at Peterborough, and one of his bones was kept at York as among the most valued treasures of its minster.

If, as tradition asserts, king Oswald had a palace at Winwick, it was neither a stately nor a substantial structure. No wonder, therefore, that no traces of it remain. It was probably built only of wood and wattles, surrounded by a moat, much after the fashion of the house of Cedric of Rotherwood, as it is described in *Ivanhoe.*

Culcheth,* another of the townships mentioned by our local bard, puts in a claim to be that Celchyth in Northumbria, where the three councils of 786, 801, and 816 were held, at the first of which Offa crowned his son, raised Lichfield to the rank of an archbishopric, and procured a decree establishing the six general councils; at the second Lichfield was reduced to its original rank, and at the third there were made various canons, and in particular that useful one that bishops should visit their dioceses at least once a

* The *Winwick Terrier* of 1701, states that there were these five lordships in this township—Culcheth, Risley, Holcroft, Pesfurlong, and Chateris, which last may mean Charterers.

year, "*Utpote hii audiunt qui raro audiunt verbum Dei.*" King Offa presided at the first two councils. Jaenbert was archbishop at the first, Ethelhard at the second, and Wulfrid at the third. (See Thorpe's *Diplomatar. Anglic.*, 38, 45, and 72.)

Archbishop Parker was of opinion that these councils were held in Northumbria, and both Sir Peter Leycester, a very careful investigator of our local antiquities, and Dr. Hook, think that Culcheth in Winwick was their place of meeting. (See P. Leycester's *Hist. Chesh.*, i, 134, and Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops*, i, 250 *n.*, 265, 279.)* If Kenion, which adjoins Culcheth, really means, as it is said, the place of tents, and Kinknall-within-Culcheth, means the king's dwelling, both may be memorials of these councils. (Whitaker's *Hist. of Manchester.*)†

Newton, another vill in the bard's poetic catalogue, which occupies a site intermediate between Winwick and Wigan, may have owed its origin to some calamity which befel one or both of those frontier towns, and we need be in no doubt as to the meaning of its English name.

As to Wigan, the northern frontier of the district, it was affirmed, says Camden, that it was formerly called Wibiggin, and that he had nothing to say of its name save that in Lancashire they called a building a "biggin." (*Britannia*, 790.) But the Anglo-Saxon word "wiggan," to fight or

* But this is controverted in a late work, where it is said Cealchythe was identified with Culcheth in Lancashire, by Gibson (*Anglo-Sax. Chron.* p. 93), following Archbishop Parker (*Antiq.* p. 93). Spelman preferred a Mercian site, in which he is undoubtedly right. Alford (*Annales* ii, 647), first pointed out Chelsea as the probable place, and on comparison of the charters where it occurs, there seems no reasonable doubt that it is right. Newcourt (*Repertorium* i, 583,) gives as the old forms of the name Chelsea—*Chelcheth, Chelchyheth, Chelchyth, Chelchith;* the form *Chelsey* appearing first in 1554. The form in the taxation of Pope Nicholas is Chelcheth. Any site near London, which was regarded locally as in Mercia, would be a good place of meeting for the West Saxon, Kentish, and Mercian bishops.—Haddan and Stubbs' *Councils*, 1872, p. 445, in *notis*.

† The editor of *Mamecestre* (Chet. So., iii, 564,) asks whether Chat Moss is indebted for its name to St. Chad, who was bishop of Lichfield in 667, and was afterwards translated to York.

contend, offers a more probable origin of the name, and this it may have obtained from the old fights which are known to have taken place there. Near those shores from which our Saxon ancestors came there is still a place of the same name, which is made the subject of an allusion in Ochlenschlager's play of "Palantoké." Harold asks—

> Wer machte zum Statthalter dich in Wigen?

and Schwend replies—

> Du sandest mich nach Wigen und nach Schonen.

> Who made thee chief in Wigen?
> 'Twas thou didst send me forth to Wigen and to Schonen.

About the year 516, when the chivalrous Arthur was struggling to re-establish British supremacy, several battles occurred on the banks of the Douglas, which have been alluded to not only by our local bard but by the present Laureate—

> And Lancelot spoke
> And answered him at full as having been
> With Arthur in the fight, which all day long
> Rang by the white mouth of the violent Glem,
> And in the four wild battles by the shore
> Of Duglas.
>
> (Tennyson's *Idylls*, p. 162.)

Tradition makes Wigan to have been the scene of these battles, and repeated discoveries of remains strongly confirm the tradition. Until the year 1770, there existed at Wigan a considerable British barrow, called the Hasty Knoll, which was composed of small stones taken out of the bed of the Douglas, and which probably marked the site of these battles. In the knoll there were found numerous fragments of iron, various military weapons, such as our ancestors buried in the graves of their heroes, and under all a cavity seven feet in length, filled with black earth and the decomposed remains of one of the fallen chieftains. (Whitaker's *Hist. Man.*, Saxon Period ii.)

The custom of heaping such memorials over those who have fallen in battle has prevailed from the earliest times, and the native bard whom we have already mentioned thus refers to it—

> Others with toil collect
> Hugh stones and earthly portions, whence to raise
> The hilly mounds, which o'er their comrades dear
> Heap'd numerous may display to future times
> The field of former slaughter. Thus while round,
> Soft in their earthy beds, the living lay
> The warriors fallen, and by their side dispose,
> As wont, the spear and shield, the solemn priests,
> In flowing garments habited pass slow,
> On every hand invoking heavenly grace!
>
> (Fitchett's *Alfred*, i, 55.)

From the Domesday Survey we learn, that in Neweton hundred there were in king Edward's time, V hides, of these I was in the demesne. The church of the same manor had I carucate of land, and Saint "Oswold" of the same vill had II carucates of land, free of every thing. The other land of this manor, XV men called drenghes, held for XV manors, which were berewicks of this manor, and among them all these men rendered xxx shillings.

Now the Newton hundred, which is here described, and which comprised the two parishes of Winwick and Wigan, in which there were much fewer than a hundred vills, is with a trifling exception identical with the fee of which we are to treat. By succession from King Oswald the Martyr, Edward the Confessor was its head, and all the land of its fifteen subordinate manors or berewicks, was held under him by an equal number of drenghes. Berewicks, which in the Domesday Survey occur only in our northern counties and in Flintshire, but are mentioned in many Saxon charters referred to in Ducange, and also in the Sharnburn charter, though its genuineness is suspected, were hamlets within a manor which possibly obtained their distinctive name from the crops of that poor grain called bere, which were raised in them.

But Ducange, who seems not to agree with this etymology of the name, prefers to derive it from the Saxon *berier vil*, that is, *vicus manerii*, but the northern berewicks being held by persons who were to render husbandry services, rather supports the idea of their name being taken from the growth of grain. The drenghes are supposed to derive their name either from *thingus*, a low Latin word for a thane, or from the Anglo-Saxon, *dreogan*, the original of our word to drudge, and hence the boy who attends to the cabin in a Norwegian vessel is called at this day the cabin-drengh. According to Spelman (*Glossary* 186, edit. 1664) the drenghes were military vassals, who or whose ancestors had held their patrimony before the Conquest, but the better opinion now is, that the drengh was the lowest landowner who had a permanent interest in the soil, and that his position was midway between the freeman and the villein. In some respects his services were the same as the villein's, but though he rendered boons and plowed, sowed and harrowed the lord's lands like him, he rendered these services, not personally, but by the villeins under him, he and his household being exempt. His tenure was inferior to knight's service, or free tenure, but from its being a permanent tenure, and from his being personally exempt from servile work, it was superior to villenage, and this view of it is confirmed by a recently discovered charter, by which a drengage holding is converted into a tenure by knight's service, and by the letter which Bishop Flambard addressed to all his thanes and drenghes, which seems to shew that a drengh who held more manors than one was called a thane. (*Boldon Book*, by Surtees So., Append. xliii.)

The Newton hundred contained two parish churches, which though not named are sufficiently referred to in the Domesday Survey. Thus it is said "the church of the same manor had "one carucate, and Saint Oswald of the same vill had two "carucates free of everything." It is certain that the church

with its one carucate was at Wigan, and that Saint Oswald's with its two carucates was at Winwick. Wigan was a favoured church, but Winwick was still more highly favoured. It had double the endowment of either Walton or Warrington, and it enjoyed the rare privilege of being exempt from all taxes, even the Dane gelt, which was shared by no other church in Lancashire, except Whalley.

A number of woods, which covered, when they were added together, an area of sixty square miles, were scattered over the district, in which beside their other wild inhabitants, there were aeries of hawks kept for falconry, not then as now a mere amusement, but almost a necessity of the time. Except two, all the *free* men of the hundred (a significant term, shewing that some of our ancestors were serfs or bondmen) were liable to the same custom as the men of West Derby, except that, which was perhaps either because their land was better, or because part of the hundred was exempt from all taxes, they did two more days' work for the king in time of harvest, which seems *then* to have happened in August as it does now. The two exempted free men were privileged persons, had the *weregild* or forfeiture for rape and bloodshed, and had also the right of free feeding for their hogs in the lord's woods. The farm rent paid to the king for the whole hundred was only ten pounds ten shillings.

What was the meaning of some of the terms, and what the exact extent of many of the measures used in the Domesday Survey, we do not know with certainty, but clearly the *hide*, one of the most frequent of them, did not mean that classic quantity used to define the bounds of Rome's ancient rival, Carthage—

> Quantum taurino possint circumdare tergo.
>
> As much ground
> As with an ox's hide they might surround.

Many of the Domesday measures are thought to have been

a sort of compromise between superficial extent and productive value, but in these northern parts the hide seems to have contained six carucates of eight bovates, each of which contained sixteen acres, so that a whole carucate consisted of 128, or rather more than six score acres, the favourite number or tale by which, as the proverb runs, our ancestors were fond of reckoning most articles—

> Five score of men, money, and pins,
> Six score of all other things.

If it be true then that the hide denoted ploughable land, and the carucate that actually ploughed, there were 3,840 acres of the former, and including the church land, 1,626 acres of the latter in the hundred or manor of Newton at the time of the survey, from which it would seem that of the whole hundred, now ascertained to contain about 53,581 acres, there was, after deducting 38,400 acres of wood, a tenth part of the whole, then capable of being ploughed.

From the evidence we have of the condition of the Fee of Makerfield in Saxon times, it is clear that the plough, though a more necessary, was then not so honourable an implement as the sword. In those ages men could not, nay even dared not walk alone, and as a consequence people generally, and all the inhabitants of cities and boroughs in particular, ranged themselves under the banner of some powerful personage, and lived beneath the shade of his castle in guilds or fraternities, the more safely and securely to carry on the several callings in which they were engaged. In the hundred of Newton we may safely conclude that there were at least the three towns of Newton, Winwick, and Wigan, in which the trading community were thus banded and collected together.

The Hundred of Newton having thus resolved itself into the Fee of Makerfield, you have a right to ask for a definition of the term fee. The word *fee*, then, has various meanings. It sometimes signifies the *vales* expected by the domestics from

the visitors of a great house, where it is of the nature of a gift, a sort of English *backsheish;* something morally, but not legally due. At other times it may mean the reward to the servants at an hotel, which from a bad custom has grown to be an established right. Again, it may be applied to the regulated and established payments made by their clients and patients to members of the two learned professions of law and physic, whose palms are said to have a peculiar muscle for weighing and appreciating fees called the *musculus guinearum*, or guinea muscle. Or, lastly, it may signify the most extensive interest known to the law which any man can have in lands in England, and which a poet, better acquainted with Themis than the Muses, thus describes in verse:—

Tenant in fee—
Simple is he
  Who needs neither quake nor quiver,
For he holds his lands,
Without fetter or bands,
  To him and his heirs for ever.

None of these senses of the word, however, will meet the use I intend to make of it, and we shall find it a meaning distinct and different from each and all of these.

When the custom prevailed, as it did all over Europe in feudal times, and more especially in England after the Norman Conquest, of rewarding all who had assisted to conquer a country with a gift of part of the lands they had conquered, the gift was called a feud benefice, or *fee;* and every such gift by its very terms involved the mutual relations of protection in the giver and service in the receiver.*

* It did not always happen that a gift without the former owner's consent, was so happily thwarted as in the case of that spirited Saxon, Leighton, afterwards Bulstrode, whose story has been turned into the following ballad:—

Ill fared our sires when bow'd the land
  Beneath the Norman sway,
And none of conqu'ring William's band
  Unguerdon'd went away!
Thus spake he to the bold Fitzurse:
  "The Leighton lands are mine;
Thine they shall be—let none reverse
  This gift to thee and thine!"

Instant on bended knee, the knight
  His ready homage paid,
And straight to seize his new fall'n right,
  His men at arms array'd!
To Leighton swift the foemen came,
  In hopes, ere dawn of day,
By night, as felons seize their game,
  The Leighton lands might they.

If the feudal gift were large the receiver in his turn granted out portions of it to his followers, to be held from him on the like terms as he held the whole from his superior. All such gifts were originally called *fees*. The larger of them (which, owing military service, are called knights' fees) generally embraced several dependent manors, all held of it, all dependent upon it, and all owing it suit and service. Such a paramount manor was that of Newton, called in the Domesday Survey the hundred of Newton, and which is now called THE FEE OF MAKERFIELD, a territory of great extent, comprising within its limits no less than these nineteen townships :—

1 Newton	4 Golborne
2 Wigan*	5 Haydock†
3 Lowton	6 Ince

The news by Ulric, Leighton's thane,
Was heard without dismay;
"Heaven will," he said "the right maintain,
Be robbers who they may.
"So bar the gates, the drawbridge rear;"
And on the highest tower
Uprose his banner, with a cheer
From all the Leighton power.
Now hark, a summons loud and shrill
Those castle warriors calls,
To yield it to Fitzurse's will,
And own themselves his thralls.
Swiftly from Saxon mangonel
And bowstring came a hail,
Scattering the foemen where it fell,
And making bold hearts quail.
Scarce hush'd the noise, when from the king
A herald calls, "Forbear!
Ulric, to thee command I bring,
That thou to court repair."

"I go," the thane replied; "bring me
From out my herd the bull;
Thus mounted, I will hear and see
The king's behests at full."
Now Whang, the bull, had sides like snow,
Which, pure in realms of light,
Takes, as it falls to earth below,
Stains on its spotless white.
On steed so strange, with dauntless brow,
Ulric to court repairs;
There sees the king, and homeward now
This royal mandate bears!
"Fitzurse shall other guerdon have,
Than brave men's lands like thine;
Take back thine own, this all I crave
Fealty for me and mine!
"Go," said the king, "for I to thee
Thy Saxon lands restore;
Thy name henceforth shall Bulstrode be,
And Leighton be no more."

* The Bailiffs of Wigan regularly paid 6s. 8d. at every Newton Court until the act passed for the "Reform of Municipal Corporations Act."

† Hugh de Eydok held this place as a mesne manor of Newton, temp. Hen. III, and in 18 Ed. II, Gilbert de Haydoc had license to impark the place, and to have free warren in Bradley.

In the narrative *De Celebratione Missæ* this story is told—A gentleman of Haydoc had a concubine who died. After her death he married, and going one day by the cross at Newton, her spirit appeared to him and entreated him to procure masses for her soul, that she might be released from the punishment she was suffering. She begged him to put his hand to her head. He did so, and took thence half a handful of black hair, upon which she entreated him to have a mass said for every hair, and promised to meet him afterwards and declare the result. She met him afterwards and exclaimed joyfully, "*O benedictus sis inter homines qui liberasti me de maximâ pœnâ, &c.*"—MSS. Trin. Coll., Oxford, 3, 18. A work by Richard Puttes.

7 Pemberton
8 The two Billinges, formerly one township
9 Winstanley
10 Orrell
11 Hindley*
12 Abram
13 Kenyon
14 Ashton
15 Southworth-with-Croft
16 Middleton and Arbury
17 Woolston-with-Martinscroft
18 Poulton-with-Fearnhead
19 Winwick-with-Hulme.

All these townships being within the fee, and, except Winwick, all of them owe suit and service at its courts, and during the continuance of the feudal tenures, which were only abolished at the Restoration, yielded the lord a fruitful harvest in the shape of reliefs, wardships, marriages, heriots, and other services. Winwick, which, as we have seen, had been very early erected into a parish, had, probably before the Conquest, passed into the hands of some religious house, although no traces of such a connection appeared in the presentations of the early rectors. But at Nostell, in Yorkshire, Ilbert de Lacy, in the time of William Rufus, in honour of St. Oswald, endowed a priory of canons regular, of the order of St. Augustine. (Tanner's *Notitia*, 645.) On this priory Roger of Poictou, who was patron of the church, bestowed the living of Winwick, which gift Stephen, Earl of Moreton, before he became king, afterwards confirmed. (Testa de Nev., Dugdale's *Monast.*, iii, 92.) If our conjecture that Winwick was in the hands of the religious before the Conquest be correct, then both Roger's grant and Stephen's were only confirmations of some still earlier gift. In consequence of this gift, however, Winwick, though within the limits of the Fee of Makerfield, is not called over at its court, and what marks its independence more distinctly, the rector holds a separate court of his own.

Going back for a few minutes to the year of the Domesday Survey, 1086, and ascending Billinge or Ashurst Hill, if we

* Rob. de Hindley fourth son of Hugh de Hindley had a grant from Rob. Banastre, temp. Ed. I.

cast our eyes over the wide borders of the Fee of Makerfield, we shall see, instead of a cultivated country divided by numerous enclosures, smiling like a garden, teeming with population, and accessible on all sides by roads, canals, and railways, and busy in the pursuit of arts, commerce, and manufactures, a great sea of wood, tenanted by wild animals, some of them of races now nearly extinct, divided here and there by large commons of moor, heath, and waste, with an occasional piece of water or mere, about which are thinly scattered the mud cabins of its one hundred and fifty inhabitants, in the midst of their small green patches of cultivation, which look like islets in a dreary waste, and at the two extremities of the district, their towers pointing heavenward, are the two churches of Wigan and Winwick, then probably humble structures of wood.

If from the place we turn our attention to the people, we shall see, perhaps, two or three franklins or yeomen, each in his short green kirtle, with hose of the same colour, a leathern cap, a short sword, a horn slung over his shoulder, a long bow in his hand, and in his belt a bundle of arrows. In another direction a serf of one of the two privileged franklins is driving his master's swine to feed upon the mast and acorns of the neighbourhood. He has a staff in his hand; his dress is a long jacket made of the skin of some four-footed animal, tanned with the hair on. It has been put on over his head, like a frock, and is buckled round his waist with a girdle. He has sandals, and not shoes, upon his feet. On one side hangs his gypsiére pouch or scrip, and on the other a ram's horn, with which from time to time he issues his commands to his attendant hound and collects his herd of grunters when they wander or miss the pasture. The evening sun is casting slant beams on Winwick tower, and across the velvet turf of its adjoining demesne, at the call of its single bell, a shaven priest is hastening to perform the office of vespers.

After the foregoing account of the Fee of Makerfield, we pass on to give some account of its lords, the Barons of Newton.

If Dr. Hume is right in deriving the name of Makerfield from the British words "maes" and "hir," a field and a plain, the name would seem to be formed on the same model as that of Tor-pen-how-hill, each syllable of which means the same thing. In the Conqueror's general distribution of lands among his soldiers and followers at the Conquest, this portion of South Lancashire fell to the lot of Roger of Poictou. The Banastres had followed the Conqueror, and while Robert, who was one of them, occurs in the celebrated roll of Battle Abbey, Richard, who was probably his son, was witness to a charter of Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, as well as to another charter of Randle I, the earl's nephew. (*Hist. Chesh.* i, 12, 19.) Robert, who is said to have helped Roger of Poictou to win his possessions, received from him as his share of the *spolia opima*, the fee of Makerfield. From Hugh Lupus most probably he also received Prestatyn in North Wales. As to the origin of the Banastre name the suggestions have been various. Camden, in his remains, expresses an opinion that it was a corruption from *balneator*, master or filler of the bath, and just as the architectural term baluster has come to be called indifferently a baluster or a banister, so the great antiquary probably thought the Banastre name, wanting the prefix of "del," was derived rather from the Latin than the French. But Ducange gives us the words *banaste*, *banastre*, and *benate*, as the French names for a basket or creel, and there are persons, and amongst them their excellent descendant, the author of the family pedigree (*Arch. Cambrensis* iii), who think that as the good Lancashire name of Bushel came from no nobler word than the low Latin *busellus*, a bushel, so the Banastres derive theirs also from *banastre*. The early cognizance of the Banastres, a pair of what may

either be leather buckets, water bags, or creels, does not settle the point either way, and though we should prefer *balneator* as the more honourable, the evidence rather inclines us to think the creel is more likely to have given origin to the name.

If Robert Banastre, who was sometimes called Robert de Waleton, did any great actions, they are hidden in oblivion, as he lived in an age that had few chroniclers, and we may well imagine that in defending himself and his possessions against their former owners, he found abundant occupation. He was probably succeeded by his son Richard, of whom history tells us no more than that he appeared as witness on the two occasions we have already mentioned. To him succeeded a second Robert Banastre, who, fancying himself more settled in his possessions, built a castle upon his demesne of Prestatyn; but he, however, had counted too soon upon peace and security, for about the year 1167, the Welsh chieftain, Owen Gwynedd, having attacked him and taken his castle, Robert, after a vain attempt to maintain his ground, withdrew with all his people into Lancashire, where their wholesale immigration obtained for them the name of Les Westrois or Westerns, a name which they retained for more than a century. This Robert was lord of the Fee of Makerfield, which gave to his descendants the feudal title of Baron of Newton. He had also a grant, or more probably a confirmation, from the first Henry de Lacy of the lordship of Walton le Dale, with its members *pro servitio unius militis*, and about the year 1147 we find him a benefactor to Basingwerk Abbey. We do not know whom Robert married, but we know that he left three sons, Richard, the eldest, who dying without issue before the year 1204, was succeeded by his brother Warin, who married a wife named Sara, and dying without issue was succeeded, in 16 John, (1213,) by Thurstan, his youngest brother, whose wife's name was Cecilia. It is remarkable how slowly the

names of the wives of our ancestors emerge into light in old times. At first they are quite anonymous, then their christian names simply appear, after which we have both their christian and surnames, and at length we learn both who and what they were. The law was at that time very unsettled, "might often "made right," and then if ever, as Thurstan found, possession really did make nine parts of the law, for when he came to his estate, the king exacted from him 500 marks for granting him an inquest of office to ascertain whether he was entitled to the lands of Robert his father and Warin his brother. Warin sealed his charters with the family badge or cognizance of two creels, buckets, or skin-bags enclosed in an external network to strengthen them. Before the time of Thurstan and Cecilia the great Banastre inheritance had passed for two generations through collaterals. But Thurstan and Cecilia had now two sons, of whom Robert, the eldest, who married Clementia, succeeded to the barony, and Thurstan, who married Maria Vernon, to whom his brother gave lands at Newton in Wirrall, and from whom sprang the Banastres of Bank and Brotherton. This line had for their arms—*argent*, a cross patonce, *sable*.

Robert Fitz Thurstan Banastre, being only a year old in 1219, when his father died, his wardship and marriage devolved upon the king, who sold both for 500 marks, a sum which shews the great value of the property, to Philip de Orreby, justice of Chester, who married him to his daughter Clementia. Henceforward the Banastres bore a coat of *gules*, three chevronels *argent*, evidently derived from that of Orreby, with a change of tincture, which was a common practice on the adoption of the arms of an heiress. On their seal they used their old badge of creels or water buckets on either side of the shield-like supporters. His early death, which might have been hastened by the troubles of those times, happened before the 27th July, 1242. By his wife, who survived him,

he had issue John, who died an infant before 16 Henry III, (1241,) and Robert, who survived him. It was either by Robert Fitz Thurstan as Baron of Newton, or his son, that Sir John Mansel was presented to the rectory of Wigan.

Sir John, who was of the house of Margam, in Caermarthenshire, being the son of Sir Henry Mansel, was unusually well educated for that time. Beginning life as a layman and a soldier, it was not until he had become the parent of three children and lost a first wife and probably a second that his grief or his ambition led him to take orders. As an ecclesiastic he became the trusted and faithful councillor of Henry III. He was a successful ambassador to France, the Pope, Scotland, and Spain, and from the latter he brought back the celebrated treaty with Alphonso of Castile, by which he renounced to the King of England all claim to Gascony, and which, with its golden seal, is still preserved among the public records of the kingdom. When in Scotland in 1248, he was detached by the ambassadors from England to lead an armed band against Norham. In 1254 he was appointed proxy to wed the Princess Eleanor, and upon the actual presence of the bridegroom being insisted upon he accompanied the queen and Prince Edward to Burgos, and was present at the marriage. He was chaplain to the Pope and to Henry III, provost of Beverley, treasurer of York, and chancellor of St. Paul's. He held a deanery and stalls in several cathedrals, and upwards of 300 ordinary benefices, the wealth of which, said to amount to 18,000 marks a year, enabled him to entertain the kings and queens of England and Scotland, Prince Edward, and the nobles and prelates of the court at his house in Tothill fields. His covetousness, and still more his devotion to Henry III, drew upon him the displeasure of Simon de Montfort, and brought about his exile and ruin; but Henry, who always stood his friend, described him "as educated under "our wing, whose ability, morals, and merits we have approved

"from our youth up," a testimony confirmed by his appointment as one of the executors of his will in 1252. He died beyond the sea, "*in paupertate et dolore maximo,*" in 1268. (*Archæologia Cambrensis,* 3 series, xxxviii, 108.)

Robert Fitz Robert Banastre, Baron of Newton, in 26 Henry III, (1242,) was in ward to the prior of Penwortham. but in the account of that priory John, and not Robert, is mentioned as the ward's name, (Chet. Soc. pref. xxxii); probably the elder brother had died in infancy, and then Robert became the ward. These repeated wardships must have sadly impoverished the Banastre estate, and we wonder that they did not wholly consume it. While benefiting by his ward's estate, it is to be hoped that the prior, whose calling should have made him love learning, did not neglect his education. When he came of age, Robert, who had a taste for field sports, obtained from the king a charter of free warren in his manors of Newton and Walton, and in his manor of Woolston, in the parish of Warrington. Without such a license no man in those days could justify taking birds or beasts of warren, even on his own land, and there are instances of keen sportsmen who, having obtained such a license, actually sold their lands and retained the right to sport over them. The beasts and birds of free warren, in opposition to those of the forest, were hares, conies, and roes, partridges, rails, and quails, woodcocks and pheasants, mallards and herons. But Robert, who had an eye to profit as well as pleasure, in the following year obtained the king's charter for a fair and market at his manor of Newton. Those were times when it was easier to bring goods to the customers than for these to go to seek the goods. Inland trade, we are told, was then heavily crippled by the badness and insecurity of the roads. It was a costly day's journey to ride through the domain of a lord abbot, or an acred baron—the bridge, the ferry, the hostelry, and the causeway across the marshes—had each its perquisites, and Robert

therefore shewed his prudence by his attempt to obviate for his retainers and tenants some of these inconveniences. But he was at the same time strenuous in asserting and maintaining his rights. Ever since the Domesday Survey the church of Wigan had belonged to the Fee of Makerfield, and when, in 6 Ed. I, 1278, an attempt was made to deprive him of the right of patronage of this living, he manfully and successfully resisted it.

At the same time he set himself to reclaim from the Crown his family inheritance at Prestatyn, and he presented a petition in which he boldly set forth his rights. In this attempt, however, he did not succeed, but the statement of his pedigree set forth in the petition has enabled his descendant to frame the pedigree which has been mentioned before.

But while Robert was thus mindful of his temporal interests he was not regardless of the spiritual wants of Newton. The advowson of Winwick, within which parish Newton was situated, belonged to the priory of Nostell, and with the prior's consent Robert seems about this time to have built a chapel at Rokeden, near his manor house in Newton, and to have made "Roger Clericus de Newton" its first priest. (*Gregson's Fragments*, 322.) In 13 Ed. I, 1284, while Richard de Wartrea (or Wavertree) presided over Nostell, Robert obtained his license to have a chantry in his chapel at Rokeden, on the ground that Newton was at an inconvenient distance from Winwick; and of this chantry, which he endowed with £3. 1s. 7d. a year, he made William de Heskayt the first incumbent. For the privilege which the prior had granted him Robert gave "to God and St. Oswald the king "an annual rent of xii*d.* to find a light for St. Mary the Virgin, "on St. Oswald's day, in the Church at Winwick for ever." (*Not. Cest.*, Chet. So., ii, 262.) When the chantry fell at the Reformation, its endowment of £3. 1s. 7d. was continued, and became the nucleus of the present endowment of Newton

chapel, and thus the founder's good deed has reached further than he ever dreamed of. Thomas Gentill was the chantry priest in 1312, and William de Rokeden in 22 Ed. III, (1349.) (*Lan. Chantries*, Chet. So., 74, 75.) Henry de Seftun, who occurs as a witness to a Newton charter about this time, and who describes himself as bailiff of Makerfield, was probably Robert Fitz Robert's reeve. A little later Richard Phyton was Robert's seneschal, and Richard de Bradshaw his bailiff at Newton. But from early times there was also a king's bailiff of the hundred of Newton. Thus, William, Earl of Boulogne, Moreton, and Warren, son of King Stephen, who died in 1160, granted the office of king's bailiff of Makerfield to Walter de Waleton, and King John, in the first year of his reign, confirmed Henry, the son of Gilbert, the son of Walter, in the office. In 20 Ed. I, (1292,) when there was a general questioning of all rights, Richard de Waleton, a descendant of the first grantee, appeared and successfully maintained his right to be the king's bailiff, not only of Newton hundred but of West Derby also, and to this day the bailiff of Newton is regularly called among the *nomina ministrorum* at the Lancashire assizes. It was at this time that the burgesses of the borough of Wigan shewed their strange notion of justice. William le Proctor being indicted for stealing a bull, one Henry Crowe, at his request, became surety for his appearance, whereupon Proctor was discharged and his surety was detained; and when Proctor failed to give himself up, the borough hanged the surety and allowed the principal to escape. (*Hist. Lan.*, iii, 532.) Those were not the days of Damon and Pythias.

Robert Fitz Robert Banastre married Alice, the daughter of Gilbert Woodcock, and was living in 1289, but he died soon after, leaving his widow surviving. They had issue a son and a daughter; James, who married Elena, the daughter of Sir William le Boteler, Baron of Warrington, by whom he

had issue, through whom the barony of Newton was transmitted to her descendants, and Clementia, to whom, on her marriage with William de Lea, her father made a grant of Mollington Banastre, in Cheshire. James, the heir apparent, in the direct line of succession, the last male of his house, doubtless to his father's great sorrow, was carried to the grave before him.

Not to interrupt the regular sequence of the barons of Newton, we stop here, where the line ends in a female, to notice a few of the Banastres, who, though evidently persons of note, are not in the direct Newton line of succession.

One of these, Thomas Banastre, in 1298, was commanded to raise 2,000 men in Lancashire, and march with them to the king at Berwick-upon-Tweed, to assist in reducing Wallace, who had succeeded in rousing his countrymen to rise against the English. (*Hist. Lan.*, i, 270.) The Banastre name doubtless drew some of the spirited Newton men to join in this campaign, which proved very disastrous to the English. Thomas, however, returned home safely, and in 1314 he was one of the knights of the shire for the county of Lancaster, an office in which another of his name and lineage, William Banastre, had served the county ten years before. In 1307, Richard Banastre was a burgess in Parliament, for Preston, and a little later three of the family were friars at Warrington, one of whom, Geoffrey Banastre, was made prior of the house. But the story of another of them, Sir Adam Banastre, requires to be told a little more at length. He had married the daughter of Sir Robert de Holland, and bore for his arms, *argent*, a cross patonce, *sable*—arms which were very distinct from those of the barons of Newton. The times were disorderly, and Sir Adam greatly forgot his knightly manners, when he, with six others in his company, fell upon the Prior of Lancaster, at Poulton, and after having cruelly wounded him and his

retinue, carried all of them off to Thornton, and there threw them into prison. (*Reg. Stæ. Mariæ Lan. MS.*, and *Hist. Lancaster*, 234.) Afterwards, with a view of ingratiating himself with the king, he raised his standard against Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, his patron, and professing an intention to relieve the king from his influence and ill practices, he collected a force of 800 men, with which he entered upon the earl's estates, and possessed himself of the arms and money there laid up for the prosecution of the Scottish war. Hastily mustering some forces, the earl came up with his enemy near Preston, when Sir Adam rushed upon him so furiously that his troops began to give way, but a reinforcement coming up, Sir Adam, in his turn, was compelled to make a precipitate retreat, when a great number of his followers were slain, and he himself was so closely beset that, after escaping for a time, he took courage from despair and rushed boldly on his pursuers, who at last overcame him, and having cut off his head sent it to the earl as a trophy. (*Hist. Lan.*, i, 270.) All this, which took place in the 9 Ed. II, (1315,) might formerly be read recorded on a tablet in Lichfield cathedral. In the windows of Warrington friary there were formerly three figures painted in glass, one of which had a banner with the arms of Lancaster, and was undoubtedly meant for Earl Thomas; another, with a banner, bore the arms of Holland, and was as certainly meant for Sir Robert Holland; and the third, of which there is a second representation, had no banner, but had an antique shield with the arms *argent* and the cross patonce *sable* upon it, the same that were borne by both Sir Thomas and Sir Adam Banastre, for one of whom, and probably for the latter, who had married Sir Robert Holland's daughter, the figure was intended. But for which ever of these two knights the portrait was meant, it probably owed its appearance in the priory window to Geoffrey Banastre, the prior. It was not a flattering likeness, however,

DRAWINGS OF A FIGURE OF ONE OF THE BANASTRE FAMILY FORMERLY IN THE WINDOWS OF WARRINGTON PRIORY FROM COPIES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

HARL. M.S. 2129: FO. 218.

T. W. RIBY, LITH. LPOOL.

for art had not then achieved the triumphs it has since won, nor had portrait-painting then earned the commendations since bestowed on it by a Liverpool bard of venerated name, to whom its Mount Pleasant was a Parnassus :—

> 'Tis only painting's pow'r
> Can bring the much lov'd form to view
> In features exquisitely true;
> The sparkling eye, the blooming face,
> The shape adorned with every grace;
> To nature's self scarce yield the doubtful strife
> Swell from the deep'ning shade and ask the gift of life.

And again, addressing the same art in another page, he says :—

> No spectre forms of pleasure fled
> Thy softening mellowing tints restore,
> But thou can'st give us back the dead,
> E'en in the loveliest looks they wore.

Only one other Banastre, and he the greatest of them all, Sir Thomas Banastre, an early Knight of the Garter, yet remains to be noticed. This knight, the son of a Sir Adam and Lady Petronilla Banastre, of Claughton, the heiress of Singleton, did good service in the engagement against the Spaniards, under the Earl of Lancaster, and in 1360 he attended the king in his wars in France. At Bourg la Reine he received knighthood from the king's own hand, and then undertook an enterprise of some daring with the celebrated Sir Walter Manny before the barriers of Paris. He next attended the Black Prince, and in 1366 took part in the battle of Najara, and the next year, when the King of France had sent the King of England a defiance about the Fouage or hearth money, he went with a force into Aquitaine. In 1369 he led an inroad into Anjou, where, having the misfortune to be taken prisoner, he was detained until there was an exchange of prisoners, when he was exchanged for the Sire Caponnel de Caponnat. In 2 Richard II, Sir John Arundel (then marshal of England) with his "good knight," Sir Thomas Banastre, as Froissart

calls him, was ordered to conduct an army into Bretagne, when the fleet being overtaken by a violent tempest was driven into the Irish Sea, where the ship in which Sir Thomas was, struck upon a rock and he was drowned on 16th Dec., 1379. The celebrated Cheshire hero, Sir Hugh Calveley, who was in the same ship, narrowly escaped the same fate at the same time. The Banastre sword which belonged to Sir Thomas was long preserved and shown at Windsor, as the relic of a valiant commander and one of the distinguished Knights of the Order of the Garter. (Beltz *Memorials of that Order*, 208.)

After this digression we return to our account of the barons of Newton.

James Banastre, the son and heir apparent of the last baron, having, as we have already stated, died without male issue in the life time of his father, the great Fee of Makerfield, on his father's death, passed to Alice, his only child and heiress. Whilst still very young, she was contracted in marriage to John le Byron, the younger, who, in 20 Edward I, (1392,) pleaded to a *quo warranto* that he, in her right, was entitled to have free warren in Walton, Newton-in-Makerfield, and Woolston, and to have infangthief and gallows in Newton; but in consequence of its appearing that Alice was under age the inquiry was adjourned. The two last items of the claim, however, give us a glimpse of the extent of the jurisdiction of the manor courts of Newton in ancient times. The privilege claimed by the "gallows" was no less than the right to execute any criminal convicted of a capital crime in the manor court by the lord's own official and on his own gallows tree. This privilege was exercised by the Baron of Kinderton by his hanging one Stringer, convicted of murder in his court, so late as the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a croft in Newton still preserves the memory of the place where

its fatal tree once stood. John le Byron's marriage appears to have been void either for want of Alice's consent when she came of age, or by reason of his own early death. (*History of Lancashire*, Harland's edition.) It was not thought fit, however, that a great inheritance won with the sword should rest in a distaff, and Alice's hand and lands were soon afterwards sold by Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, to John, son of Robert de Langeton, of West Langeton, in Leicestershire, for 250 marks, who thus, in her right, became Baron of Newton and Lord of the Fee of Makerfield, and on the earl's death soon afterwards John and Alice were found to have held under him one knight's fee in Lancashire. The honour of the Fee of Makerfield, which had been sustained for two centuries by one great house, suffered no diminution in passing to another, the house of Langton. Under Alice's new name we are reminded of one of England's greatest men, Cardinal Langton, who threw the shield of the Church over the secular arm which extorted from King John the charter of our liberties at Runnymede. Little did Pandulph know the metal of his man when he made it a special article of charge against the king that he did—

> Force perforce,
> Keep Stephen Langton, chosen Archbishop
> Of Canterbury, from that holy see.
>
> *King John*, Act iii, Scene 1.

And as little did Pope Innocent know the service he was rendering when he so vehemently insisted that the king should enthrone the cardinal, but he plainly saw his error afterwards when he as vehemently insisted on his being deposed.

Stephen had a brother Simon, who, about 1216, was elected Archbishop of York; but the pope, who had then learned to know the Langtons better, set aside the election. In 1264 another of the name, William Langton, being elected Arch-

bishop of York, another pope, who had inherited a dread of the Langton name, set aside his election also.

But notwithstanding the papal antipathy the fame of the Langtons had suffered no diminution when Alice entered into the family. Her husband's brother, who singularly enough was called like himself, John, was Bishop of Chichester and Lord High Chancellor of England, while Walter Langton, who was probably her husband's cousin, filled the see of Lichfield, and was at that time busy in changing Upholland church, near Wigan, from a college to a Benedictine priory. (*Hist. Lanc.*, iii, 558.) Alice's husband, who was knighted by the honour-giving hand of Edward I, obtained, through his brother's influence, on the 14th February, 29 Edward I, (1300,) a charter of confirmation and enlargement of the grant made to his ancestor of markets, fairs, and free warren at Newton and other places. The new charter expressly grants Sir John a weekly market, on Thursday, at Walton-le-Dale, with a three days' fair there yearly, on the eve, the day, and the morrow of St. Luke; and also a weekly market at Newton on Saturday, and two yearly fairs of three days each, one on the eve, the day, and the morrow of St. John *ante portam Latinam* (6th May), and the other on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Germanus the Confessor (31st July); and also of free warren in Newton, and the demesnes of Lowton, Golborne, and Walton-le-Dale. It is observable that neither of the Newton fairs is now held on the charter day, but each is held eleven days later, which is the result of the change of style in the last century, when the people seem to have kept superstitiously to the original day, as if that and that only could be the saint's anniversary. To all fairs there is incident what is called a court of *pie powder*, and I extract from a record of such a court, held at New Sarum, this curious incident to show the extent of the court's power. At this court, held in the Canons' Close in Whitsun-week,

in the 35th year of the king's reign, Clement Slegge was attached by his body for picking the pocket of one John Thomas, of London, capper, of an account book; and the said Clement being charged with the offence and being unable to disprove it, was adjudged to stand in the pillory for two hours during the fair, which punishment he accordingly underwent. (Madox's *Formulare Anglic.*, p. 18.)

Sir John and dame Alice Langton, on 29th April, 32 Ed. I, (1304,) levied a fine of all their lands in Walton-le-Dale, Newton, and Lawton, and the advowson of the church of Wigan, and by it they settled all those lands upon themselves for life, with remainder to the heirs of the said Sir John, born of the body of the said Alice, with remainder to her right heirs for ever.

On the 11th April, 11 Edward II, (1318,) as if to secure Sir John to his side in the views he was then meditating, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, granted him an inspeximus and confirmation of Henry de Lacy's ancient charter to Robert Banastre.

Alice, Sir John's young wife, was certainly living in 1304, but she was as certainly dead before 18 Edward II, (1325,) when Robert de Holland's lands were expressly found to be held under her surviving husband.

On the 2nd July, 6 Edward III, 1332, Sir John, by a deed in Norman French, appointed his reeve, Richard de Newton, his attorney, to give Gilbert de Haydoc seisin of ten acres in Newton wood; and the Langton seal to this deed bears the original arms of the Langtons of West Langton.

It was in Sir John's time that William le Gentyl, the most irregular of Lancashire sheriffs, being ordered to make a return to Parliament of two knights of the shire, returned of his own authority, and without consulting the county, Gilbert de Haydoc, one of Sir John's near neighbours, and with him another person, to be such knights, and paid them £20 for

their expenses, whereupon the county lodged a threefold complaint against him; first, that he had made the return of his own will and without their assent; secondly, that he had paid Gilbert and his colleague £20, while as good men might have been found for £10, or even for ten marks; and thirdly, that his bailiffs had levied as much money for their own use as they had paid the knights. The real *gravamen* of the complaint was that the sheriff had over-rated the value of the services of his two nominees. (*Hist. Lancashire*, i, 300-1.)

In Sir John Langton's time also there occurred at Newton an event which has obtained more notice than almost any other of its local circumstances. In the early years of the reign of Edward II, Sir William Bradshaw, of Haigh, a great traveller and soldier, having left his home, remained abroad so long without any tidings being heard of him that he was given up for dead, and his wife took to herself a second husband, a certain Welsh knight. After a time, however, it happened that Sir William returned, in a palmer's habit, and came amongst the poor to his own gate, where being recognised by his wife, she wept over him tears of joy, for which the Welsh knight took upon him to chastise her, whereupon Sir William made himself known to his tenants, and the Welsh knight having wisely consulted his safety by flight, Sir William followed and overtook him near Newton Park, and there slew him upon a stone called "the Bloody stone," which has ever since been said to retain marks of the Welsh knight's blood. To atone for her share as the innocent cause of this offence, Mabel, Sir William's widow, founded a chantry in Wigan church, to which the first priest was presented in 1328, and about a mile from it erected the cross called Mab's cross, from which she vowed to walk barefoot once a year to the chantry by way of penance.

Sir John de Langton, who had two sons, Robert and John,

must have died about the 7 Edward III, (1334,) for in the following year we find his son Sir Robert in possession of the barony of Newton. He married Margaret, who is thought to have been a daughter of William, son of Henry de Orrell, for in 14 Edward III, (1340,) some of the Orrell estates seem to have been settled on him and his wife and their issue. The next year he had a license to embattle *(kernellare)* his house at Newton. This house, the site of which now lies buried beneath the railway embankment, stood on the rock above the brook, a little to the north of the present picturesque old hall at Newton. Its moat, which had been cut out of the solid rock, was perfect until the railway, with its iron heel, rushed over it, and buried it beneath a high mound, which, if it had been thrown up in front of the house in an earlier age, would have been its best defence against a surprise. (*Not. Cest.*, Chet. So., 278. *Notes and Queries*, ix, 220, 270.) In 1346, Sir Robert, who was serving under the king in his French wars, probably shared in the glories of the great day at Cresoy, for at the siege of Calais, shortly afterwards, he was knighted, and probably there witnessed a dramatic incident, the humble submission of the men of Calais, and heard the queen graciously interceding for their pardon. About this time there occur several Newton charters, some of which prove the times to have been very simple. They mention John the shepherd, Thomas the herdsman, and John the serjeant (*serviens*), who, I suppose, was the lord's bailiff or reeve. All these were employments of duty or business; but John the piper, who was a minister of pleasure, is also mentioned. His performance, which had not much music in it, was probably much like that which Benedick says the recreant Claudio had learned to love:

> I have known when there was no music with him but the drum and fife, and now he would much rather hear the tabor and pipe.
>
> *Much Ado About Nothing.*

This music, which was sufficient to mark time, had little else to recommend it, and at many a village ball this now antiquated instrument formed the whole band within times of living memory.

In 1346, the king, being about to make the Black Prince, his eldest son, a knight, levied an aid for that purpose, to which Sir Robert was assessed at half a knight's fee for his West Langton lands.

Sir Robert died on Sunday before the feast of St. Michael, 26th September, 35 Edward III, (1361,) leaving three sons, John, Richard, and Robert. Richard probably became Rector of Wigan, Robert became a *serviens ad arma*, and took Hindley and the original paternal property in Leicestershire, with a carucate of land at Hendon in Middlesex, while the barony of Newton and Walton-le-Dale devolved upon his grandson Ralph, the son of his son John, who had died in his lifetime.

Sir Ralph Langton, in 1367, obtained the bishop's license to have an oratory for three years in his manor house at Newton, (*Not. Cest.*, Chet. So., ii, 272); and in 1370, he presented his clerk, James Langton, to the living of Wigan. In 10 Richard II, when he was 45 years old, he was examined in the friary at Warrington as a witness in the celebrated suit of arms between Scrope and Grosvenor, and gave evidence in favour of the latter.

Sir Ralph, probably in consequence of feeling the approach of age, on the 12th Dec., 1405, obtained a renewal and confirmation of his privilege of a chantry at Rokeden, which must have been near his house, and he had the bishop's further consent to have divine offices celebrated before him and other faithful christians at Rokeden in his chapel there, without any burden upon the mother church. (*Not. Cest.*, Chet. So., ii, 272.) It was about this time that John Dauke left to William

Langton, his spiritual father, to whom he was attached, the use for his life of a book (*unius libri*) which Richard le Scroop carried in his bosom when he was beheaded, supplicating him to cause the said book after his decease to be chained near the place where the said Richard's body lay, there to remain for ever. (*Whitaker's History Whalley*, 484.) On the same principle a copy of the Koran is placed in the tomb of the Sultan Tayloon in his noble mosque at Cairo.

Sir Ralph, who married Joan the daughter of William de Radcliffe, died in or about 7 Hen. IV, (1406,) leaving his wife surviving, who was still living in 8 Hen. V, (1420.) They had several children, of whom the eldest,

HENRY LANGTON, esquire, succeeded to the barony of Newton. He married Agnes, the daughter of John de Davenport, and died 14th Sept., 7 Hen. V, (1419,) leaving his wife surviving. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

Sir RALPH LANGTON, knight, who married a wife named Alice, and died 6th Feb., 1431, leaving her surviving. Sir Ralph was succeeded by his son Henry, who was 12 years old at his father's death.

HENRY LANGTON, esquire, baron of Newton, married Elizabeth, and died 13th Sept., 1471, leaving his wife, who died 17th Nov., 1472. Sir Richard Langton, his eldest son, who next succeeded to the barony, marched to the north with the Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III, and Lord Stanley, and was made a banneret by the latter at Hutton Field in 1482. The Lancashire men were much mixed up with this march to the north, and upon it the Duke of Gloucester, according to tradition, slept at Bradley, near Newton; but between his and Lord Stanley's party some jealousy at last broke out, and there was a skirmish at Salford, in which the Duke's banner was taken, possibly by one of the Langton

party, since it was hung up as a trophy in Wigan church, and a ballad was made about it, which began thus*—

Jack of Wigan, he did take
The Duke of Gloucester's banner,
And hung it up in Wigan church,
A monument of honour.

(*Halsted's Richard III*, vol. ii, 67.)

Sir RICHARD LANGTON married Isabella, the daughter of Sir Thomas Gerard, of Bryn, and died on 23rd August, 1500, leaving his wife surviving. He was succeeded by his eldest son,

RALPH LANGTON, who married Joan, the daughter of Sir Christopher Southworth, and dying on 29th July, 1503, was succeeded by his son RICHARD, who dying under age, was followed by his younger brother,

Sir THOMAS LANGTON, who married Elizabeth, the daughter of Lord Monteagle, the hero of Flodden, to whom the wardship of the heir of the barony had been granted by his mother. In his day, the antiquary Leland, who visited Newton, thus describes it:—"Newton, on a brook, a little poor market, whereof "Mr. Langton has the name of his barony."† In 1553 Newton was ordered to find four of the armed men who were to be provided by Winwick parish; and in 1557 Sir Thomas Langton received orders to command fifty men of the Lancashire force ordered to be raised to resist the Scots. (*Hist. Whalley*, 533.) In 1556 he filled the office of high sheriff of Lancashire, and in 1557 he served the same office again. In neither of these years were the times quiet, and Sir Thomas no doubt found his office as onerous as honourable. In the year 1558 he obtained for Newton, by charter from the queen, the right to send two burgesses to parliament. Sir Thomas was the

* In the Cole MSS, British Museum, another version of the ballad says—

Jack Morris of Wigan brought the Duke's banner
To Wiggan kirk, it served there forty year.

† In 2 Ed. VI, (1548,) John Dunster, aged 40, was the priest of the Newton chantry.—(*Lan. Chantries*, 74, 75.)

owner of nearly the whole borough, and his steward was the returning officer, and if he had so pleased he might have nominated himself to be one of the members, but he does not seem to have done so, and as he did not sit for any other place, he perhaps did not covet parliamentary honours. In the parliament of 1558 and 1559 Newton was represented by Sir George Hazard, knight, and Richard Chetwode, esquire, and in that of 1563 by Francis Alford and Ralph Browne, esquires. We know nothing of these persons. Let us hope, therefore, that they were selected by Sir Thomas, honestly, on public, and not on private grounds; but the newness of the queen's reign and the unsettled state of the times may have induced Sir Thomas in sending them to gratify the queen in the way mentioned in Clarendon's *State Papers.* (P. 92 c. *Hume's Hist.*, v. 9, *note.*)

Elizabeth, the first wife of Sir Thomas Langton, having died before him, he then married Anne, sometimes called Anne Slater, the daughter of Thomas Talbot, a younger son of John Talbot of Salebury. Sir Thomas died on the 14th of April, 1569, leaving dame Anne, his widow, surviving him, and by his will, dated the 4th of April preceding, in which he calls himself "Thomas Langton, of Walton-in-le-Dale, in "the county of Lancaster, knight, Baron of Newton," after reciting a deed bearing date the 4th August, 5 and 6 Philip and Mary, (1558,) being a settlement of his great possessions in many different places, and reciting how the same were disposed of by it, he directed his body to be buried amongst his ancestors, in the chancel of the church of Walton-le-Dale, towards repairing which church he gave the sum of £20. His cousin [grandson] Thomas Langton, was to have his gold chain and a standing silver cup with the gilt cover, whereupon was graven the word "heirloom," his greatest silver goblet and cover, one silver cup with the cover parcel gilt, made after the fashion of a glass, his silver piece pounced,

(a box like Hotspur's "pouncet-box,") one pounced silver plate, one silver drinking-cup with two handles, two of his best silver gilt salts and their covers, one dozen of the best silver spoons, one of them gilt; one silver piece, two great brazen pots in the kitchen, one great copper pan; with a wain, plough, and all other instruments belonging to husbandry, and all his harness and armour. And afterwards, amongst many other legacies to his servants and others, he gave to E. Rishton, in recompense of her wages for long service, £40. To his priest, Thomas Edmundson, he gave an annuity of 40s. for four years, and to his executors, during four years, £6. 13s. 4d., which is expressed to be for a remembrance of him "when he was gone." (*Lan. and Ches. Wills*, Chet. Soc., part ii, 246.)

Sir Thomas Langton was succeeded by his grandson, another Thomas, the son of his youngest son, Leonard Langton, who, under the settlement of 1558, took the family estates as tenant in tail. Like his grandfather, he seems, for the greater part of his life, to have been content with nominating others to represent the borough of Newton in Parliament, without seeking to take that honour upon himself. In the year 1571, the pope having issued his bull of excommunication against the queen, in which, mistaking his power, he idly affected to deprive her of the crown and to absolve her subjects from their allegiance, one Felton, who had been bold enough to affix the bull to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace, obtained by it what he probably desired and certainly deserved, the crown of martyrdom, for he was immediately seized and put to death as a traitor. Parliament, which had not met for five years, was now called together, it being thought proper that the nation should mark its sense of the pope's attempted outrage upon the queen and the constitution. (Hume's *Hist. Eng.*, v, 172.) This Parliament met on the 3rd of April, 1571, and Newton was represented in it

by Anthony Mildmay and Thomas Stoneley, esquires, its two burgesses. The first of these burgesses was probably one of the Northamptonshire family. (Collins' *Peerage*, iii, 294.) But we have not discovered who the second was or how he was connected with Newton.

On the 23rd April, 1573, dame Anne Langton, the widow of the late Sir Thomas, made her will, by which, amongst other legacies, she gave the crucifix of gold which she was accustomed to wear about her neck to her cousin William Ffaryngton. She left £20 to her daughter, Katheryn Langton, which she says she owed her, but she mentions no others of the name. The will was proved in the following June, and to it there is attached a long and very minute inventory of her effects. (*Lan. and Ches. Wills*, Chet. Soc., part iii, 58.)

On the summoning of a new parliament in the following year, 1574, the burgesses for Newton were John Gresham, Esq., and John Savile, Esq., of whom the latter was probably a barrister, and the person of his name, who in 1598 was made Baron of the Exchequer.

In 1577 a parliament was held, which after sitting long had done so little that the queen, addressing the speaker, Popham, at its close, said, "Mr. Speaker, what have you "passed?" to which he naively replied, "Please your majesty, "five weeks." It is to be regretted that the members for Newton were not present to hear this passage of wit.

In the year 1584, the queen's rule being threatened with conspiracies, she called a new parliament, to which Newton sent Robert Langton, Esq., of Lowe, a collateral relation of the baron of Newton, and Edward Savage, as their burgesses; and in 1586, when the queen was again threatened, the same members were again returned. But in the following year, which was that of the Spanish armada, a change was made, and Edmund Trafford, Esq., of Trafford, and Robert Langton, Esq., of Lowe, were returned to represent Newton.

In the night of the 20th and 21st Nov., 32 Eliz., (1589,) in consequence of some cattle of widow Singleton's being impounded by Mr. Hoghton, of Lea hall, between Preston and Kirkham, Mr. Langton of Walton, the Baron of Newton, assembled his retainers, to the number of eighty, and with them sallied out against Mr. Hoghton, and being met by the latter at the head of about thirty of his followers, a regular engagement ensued, in which Mr. Hoghton and William Bawdwen, one of Mr. Langton's people, were slain, and he himself, grievously wounded, was carried off the field to Broughton tower. For this offence the Baron of Newton and others were indicted, and while they lay in prison awaiting their trial the Earl of Derby, then Lord Lieutenant of the County, wrote a letter to Lord Burleigh, in which he stated that, moved by the earnest desires of a number of poor men, his sense of duty to her majesty, and foreseeing some danger likely to ensue to the county, he thinks fit to acquaint his lordship with a troublesome cause between Mr. Baron of Walton,* and Mr. Houghton. He informs him "that the gentlemen were "only in peril of burning in the hand, while the poorer and "less guilty offenders were in much more danger;" and he entreats Lord Burleigh to obtain for them a pardon before the assizes, since many of them could not read, and were therefore likely to lose their lives without her majesty's most gracious favour. He points his lordship's attention to the fact, "that the better sort of the offenders were so great in "kindred and affinity, and so stored with friends, that if they "should be burnt in the hand there would grow out of it a "great and ceaseless quarrel;" and he ends by suggesting "that the parties should be subjected to banishment for a "time, as the safest and best course to satisfy both sides."

* Walton-le-dale being the principal residence of the barons of Newton, they were frequently spoken of as barons of Walton; but though a superior lordship, with jurisdiction over five appurtenant manors, it was not a barony. This lordship elected its own coroner.

We are startled to think of the inequality of punishment here described as existing in those days, and we are not less surprised to find a lord-lieutenant writing to interfere with the course of justice, after a riot which had embroiled the county.

It does not appear what was the result of the lord-lieutenant's letter, but the Baron of Newton surrendered his lordship of Walton-le-dale to Mr. Hoghton's family, and made his peace with this weregeld after the ancient fashion of the Saxon times. In the parliament called in 1592 to grant the queen a subsidy towards the expenses of the government, Edmund Trafford and Robert Langton, esquires, were again returned as members for Newton. It was in this parliament that, in reply to the speech of the speaker, Sir Edward Coke, making the usual three requests, of freedom from arrests, of access to her majesty's person, and of free liberty of speech, that the queen, by the mouth of Puckering, the lord keeper, told him that "they (the house) must know what was the "liberty they were entitled to, that it was not a liberty for "every one to speak what he listeth, or what cometh into his "brain to utter; for that their privilege extended no further "than a liberty of aye or no." The members for Newton probably sat patiently to hear the lord keeper give Sir Edward this rebuff, which he had brought upon himself by his obsequiousness in the speech in which he announced his election. "This," said he, "is only a nomination and no election, until "your majesty giveth allowance and approbation." (2 *Hassell*, 154.)

About this time, for some reason which we cannot explain, unless it be the plea of concealed lands, the Fleetwoods, Sir Thomas Langton's kinsmen, had made an assignment of their reversion of the Langton estates to the queen; but in the year 1594, they entered into an agreement with him to revoke and make void such assignment, and by a deed of the 15th

July, in that year, and a fine levied in pursuance of it, Sir Thomas, describing himself as of Walton-le-Dale and Baron of Newton, settled the barony, manor, and seigniory of Newton, with all courts, markets, fairs, liberties, and franchises, and the *nomination, election, and appointment* of two burgesses to parliament, which had been used by the baron, lord, or owner of the said barony, and after such election made to be sent to the parliament as burgesses for the borough of Newton, and all manors, messuages, lands, and hereditaments in Newton, Lawton, Leigh, Penyngton, Makerfield, Eccles *alias* Egresfield, Golborne, Kenyon, Crofte, Southworth, Middleton, Arbury, Houghton, Fearnhead, Poulton, Woolston, Hulme, Winwick, Haydoc, Ashton, Pemberton, Orrell, Billinge, Wynstanley, Ince, Hindley, and Abram, within the fee of Makerfield, or in the parishes of Warrington, Winwick, and Wigan (except the advowson of the rectory of Wigan, and all messuages theretofore used in severalty in Lawton, and the tenements and land thereto belonging, in Wigan aforesaid), to the use of Sir Thomas himself for life, with remainder to the use of his first and other sons successively in tail male, with remainder to the use of Thomas Fleetwood, esquire, of Calwich, in the county Stafford, and his heirs for ever; and in return Thomas Fleetwood on his part engaged to revoke the assignment which he had made to the queen of the Langtons' reversions.

On the 24th October, 1597, when the queen's necessities again obliged her to call a parliament, the only member returned for Newton was their old member Robert Langton, esquire, of Lowe.

In the year 1601 Sir Thomas Langton for the first time chose to have himself returned as one of the members for his own borough, having for his colleague Richard Ashton, gentleman. Who this person was we have not discovered. It was in this parliament that the queen gained great popularity by giving

up part of her prerogative, the privilege of granting monopolies, when the parliament in return for it, besides granting her a subsidy to repay the expense she had been at in her Irish wars, returned her their most grateful thanks. In the year 1603, soon after the accession of the new king, Sir Thomas Langton was created a Knight of the Bath, and he died on the 20th of February, 1604. The inquisition, taken four years after his death, says that he died at Newton, but this differs from the account given in the following tablet to his memory, which, after having been first set up in Wigan church, was afterwards, for some reason of which we are not aware, removed to Duxbury hall:—

TO OBLIVION.

And ye true bones of Sir Thos. Langton, of ye Honble. Order of ye Bathe, knight baron of Newton in Makerfield, ye last of his name, and ye undoubted patron of this church, descended from a most ancient, famous, and farre renowned family of Langton, in Leicestershire, who sometimes were of great authority both in ye church and commonwealth of this kingdome, and for the space of 300 yeres have flourished in this county. A gentleman y^t many times tugged with extremityes and made warre with ye worst of misfortunes, &c. He departed this lief in ye citty of Westminster 20th February, 1604, when he had lived 44 yeres, and lyes buried nere ye high altar in St. Peter's Church adjoyning to ye Abbay.

The author of *Westminster Abbey* makes no mention of Sir Thomas's burial there, and as he had done nothing to deserve such an honour, it is plain that the abbey had not then become, what it is now, the national mausoleum.

Sir Thomas Langton was twice married, first to Margaret, the daughter of Richard Sherburne, Esq., of Stonyhurst, but the contract for this marriage having been made in infancy, and not afterwards ratified, was set aside, and Sir Thomas, about the year 1576, married Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir John Savage, of Clifton, but he left no issue by either of his wives. Sir Thomas by the tragedy at Lea had lost his great lordship of Walton-le-dale, and his death without issue causing a break in the direct line of succession, now lost his

family another, the great barony of Newton: and it with the rest of that large inheritance which three centuries ago had come to the Langtons by one heiress was now to pass out of it by another.

At this change in the name of the baronial house we pause to notice shortly the appearance of another great family which first came to Newton towards the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. About this time, probably by purchase from the Langtons, the Blackburnes became the owners of an estate in Newton, and soon afterwards built there the venerable mansion, which is still standing, called Newton Hall. Richard Blackburne, Esq., the builder of the house, who was first of Scorton Hall, and afterwards of Newton, married Jane, the daughter of John Aynsworth, of that place. Mr. Blackburne not only built his own house, but he helped to maintain public worship in another and still nobler house, the church at Newton, by giving the large sum of two hundred pounds towards the better support and endowment of the minister. The extensive front of the new hall at Newton was flanked by wide projecting gables at its two ends, and a smaller one in the centre, through which was the great entrance into the house. The foundations and corners of the house were of solid brickwork, and the upper part, which was of timber and plaster, was coloured black and white, in an agreeable geometrical pattern. Each story of the house had long rows of heavy mullioned windows, which were contrived as if on purpose to let in light by stealth, and prevent marauders from entering in the same manner. A double-barred and well studded oak door bore the same protective character as the windows, while a moat added to the impression that the times were not very settled when the house was built, of which the recent tragedy at Lea was a proof. Entering through the porch, the stranger found himself in a great hall, furnished with a long solid oak table,

14 E:-

I gobas agdy Elfo sw
yoo, Iwpl Rlwbf
agokmaoe, & yoo I
yoobas agdy ygwio
Elgo: bo bo bo

14th (August, 1635)

Twente this daye to
see John Makond
executed and so I
spente this whole
daye.

(The above name spelt "Macounte" occurs frequently in the Grappenhall register.)

Fac-simile of a passage in the diary of Thomas Blackburne, Esq. of Newton Hall with the interpretation.

WITH PROOF

at which the master dined with his family, retainers, and servants, and at one side, lighted by a window filled with the family arms, was the grand staircase leading to a gallery which ran round the hall, and from which was the entrance to the upper rooms, while the queen's arms were emblazoned over the mantelpiece, supported on one side by the lion of England, and on the other by the winged dragon of the house of Tudor, and surrounded by the Garter motto "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*" This picturesque house, which is happily still standing, and has many associations with the past, seldom fails to attract the attention of travellers who see it from the station at Newton Bridge. Richard Blackburne, the builder, was worthily succeeded by his eldest son, Thomas Blackburne, who was born at Newton Hall, in the year 1605, and was married at Grappenhall Church, by dispensation, in April, 1626, to Margaret Norris, the descendant of an ancient Lancashire family, who settled in Orford soon after the Conquest. One of Margaret's ancestors had been Master of the Ordnance to Henry VI, which may have stimulated her husband to acquire the skill in archery for which he became famous at a time when the bow as a weapon was fast falling into disuse. But Thomas Blackburne had a reputation for more and better things than archery. He was deservedly esteemed as a learned man, add to which he was certainly a pious and devout one, as we know from a curious volume of his diary, which he kept in cypher—

That, save his own, no eye should ere behold it.

In this book, which is a diary of exactly twelve months, from 13th Oct., 1634, to the 12th Oct., 1635, and which is probably only one of a long series, he has written down his inmost thoughts, meditations, and prayers every day, and scarcely on any day has he neglected to hold inward communings with his soul, or to call himself to a strict account for his shortcomings in moral and divine things. He frequently mentions

his wife Margaret, and one day he speaks of her as having alighted "at daylight gate," a phrase which Mr. Halliwell says means twilight. The word "Amen" at the end of his prayers proved the key to unlock the writer's cypher. The Blackburnes finally removed to Orford and Hale, where happily they still continue, and it is to be hoped will long continue in honour.

DEVICES AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE BARONS OF NEWTON AND OF THEIR KINDRED.

Fig. 1.—Fragment of a seal of Warin Banastre, son of Robert Banastre, and heir to his brother Richard, who died 23rd April, 1205, This seal, appended to a grant in "Waletona," to one Alured, is amongst the muniments of the Leghs of Lyme, which have supplied most of the seals here engraved.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.—The deed to which this seal is appended being without date, it is uncertain whether it was used by the son or by the grandson of Thurstan, brother and successor to Warin, both of whom bore the name of Robert.

These seals bear the device of dossers (paniers) which have been by some called water bougets. This device appears as a charge in the arms of Banesters of Darwen, in the Visitation of 1567, viz., *sable*, two dossers joined in fess, *argent;* on a chief, *gules*, three fleur-de-lis, *or*. An ancient coat of this family is also there recorded as *argent*, a water bouget between four fleur-de-lis, *sable*.

Fig. 2.

Philip de Orreby, justice of Chester, who had the wardship of Thurstan Banastre's heir, bore a coat *ermine*, charged with five chevronels, *gules*. The inference that Clementia, wife of Robert Fitz Thurstan,

was his daughter, receives confirmation from the circumstance that after this alliance we find the Banastres using a coat of three chevrons.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

The tinctures were reversed, as shown by the Roll of Arms of the reign of Edward II, edited by Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas, p. 89 :—

"Sire William Banastre, "de goules a iij cheverons de argent."

The dates of the deeds to which the two seals (Figs. 3, 4) in the margin were attached prove them to have been used by the last Robert Banastre, son of Clementia.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 5.—John, son of Robert de Langeton, Lord of the Manor of West Langeton in the county of Leicester, who married Alice, grand-daughter and heiress of Robert Banastre, sealed with a shield *vair ;* probably derived, either through kindred or affection, from that of Marmion, under which family some of his property was held.

Fig. 6.

By his son, Robert de Langeton, the arms of the two families were borne amalgamated. (Figs. 6, 7, 8.)

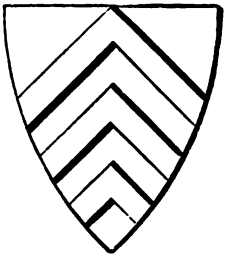


Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

Figs. 9, 10, 11.—The seals drawn in the margin are those of Robert, the second Baron of the line of Langton and of Margaret his wife. They were appended to indentures made in the 15th year of the reign of Edward III. The charge of the arms impaled is obliterated. It may probably have been a spread eagle, which after this time came into use in the family.

Fig. 9.

Fig. 10.

Randle Holme records in a window at Wigan Church an impaled coat, on the dexter side, *argent*, three chevrons *gules*; on the sinister, *argent*, an eagle displayed with two heads *vert*, beaked and legged *or*. This coat was probably derived from Orrel, for in the preceding account of the descents of the Langton family, it is shewn that there was, about this date, an alliance with that of Orrel, and there was found amongst the muniments at Lyme the seal of William, son of Richard de Orel, 13 Edward I, as here represented.

Fig. 11.

The Langtons of Lowe, Lords of the Manor of Hindley, were the descendants of Robert, the second son of the before-named Robert, and on their line the paternal estate in Leicestershire, with other property, was settled.

Fig. 12 represents the seal of John de Langton, the second of this line, rather defaced, but known to have borne an eagle displayed, from the deed of 42 Ed. III, to which it was affixed, having been copied with its seal. *Vide* Harl. MSS, c. 2312.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 13.—A seal of the same. He used several devices; one has the appearance of a trophy, another is a bird of prey, with a smaller bird in its talons.

Fig. 13.

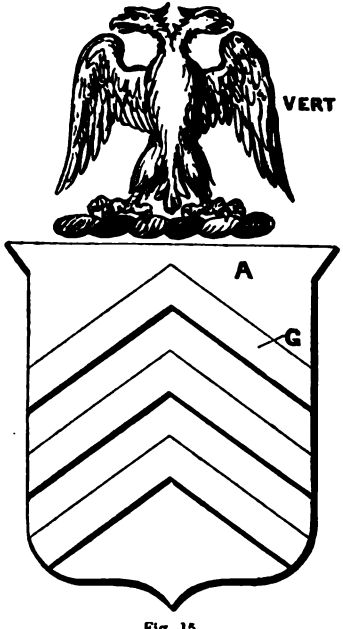


Fig. 15.

Arms of Langton of Lowe, as entered at the Visitation of 1664.

Fig. 16.

Seal used by Edward Langton, the last of Lowe, in making his will, Sept. 1, 1731.

Fig. 14.

Arms of Langton of Lowe, in Grafton MS Coll. of Arms.

Fig. 17.—Ralph, the grandson and successor of Robert the second Baron of this line of Langton, abandoned the bordure of the paternal arms, and sealed with a coat of three chevrons only. The tinctures had been reversed again when used by the Langtons, the field being *argent*, the chevrons *gules*. (*Roll of Arms of Knights at the Siege of Calys.*)

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18.

Fig. 18.—Impression of the signet ring of Ralph, grandson of the foregoing, to an English deed, 6th May, 1427, from the muniments at Trafford.

Fig. 19.—His grandson, Richard, sealed, in the 17th Edward IV, with the device of a pelican vulnerant. The ring is in existence. It was turned up on the point of a ploughshare some years ago, in Brindle, a township contiguous to Walton-le-Dale. It has a legend engraved inside the ring, "De bon cuer."

Fig. 19.

Fig. 20.—Seal of Sir Thomas Langton, who married, first, the daughter of Lord Monteagle, and second, the daughter of Thomas Talbot.

Fig. 20.

Fig. 21.—Arms of Langton, Baron of Newton, given in the Visitation of 1567. In the original edition of *Gregson's Fragments* and with the pedigree in *Baines's History of Lancashire*, the crest is improperly represented by two figures on the wreath. Some copies of the Visitation of 1567 having given the crest as seen both in profile and in full face, probably led to this error.

In Grafton's MS the figure is represented as undraped, though

wearing a headdress and necklace, while a MS, said to have been copied from one of the time of Edward IV, (Harl. MSS, cod. 2076), gives the female bust, *proper*, with head tire, *or*, between two wings erect, *argent*. At Wooton Lodge, where this crest appears over the quarterly coat of Fleetwood and Langton, the garment is cut square on the breast.

Fig. 21.

Fig. 22.

The second and third quarters are doubtless intended for Banastre, under the impression that the chevrons represented the paternal coat of Langton; but, as we have seen above, they were derived from Banastre. The cross patonce *sable* never appears to have been borne by the Barons of Newton, but to have been used by the junior line of Banastre, settled in Leyland Hundred. The Visitation of 1533 gives the Banastre-quarter as a cross moline, but the engraving in the margin (fig. 22) of Sir Thomas Banastre's garter plate in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, shows that the charge in his arms was a cross patonce.

Fig. 23.

Fig. 23.—William Langton, Recorder of Liverpool and M.P. for Preston in the Long Parliament, was the eldest son of Roger Langton of Broughton Tower. He bore, on the authority of William Riley, Norroy in the time of the Commonwealth, party per pale, *argent* and *or*, three chevrons, *gules*, with the crest of a Talbot sejant regardant, *sable*, the ears *argent*. All the

Acts of the College of Arms during the Commonwealth being made void at the Restoration, Dugdale cancelled these arms at the Visitation of 1664, and substituted those in the margin, where the ancient paternal coat is revived in the canton.

This family is now represented by Mr. William Langton, of Liverpool.

Langton Arms and Crest, carved on a mantel-piece at Samlesbury Hall.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN THE MERSEY DISTRICT, 1871.

By Henry Ecroyd Smith.

READ 18TH APRIL, 1872.

IN the absence of any extraordinary discoveries within our borders during the past year, the present record is chiefly confined to some description of relics of various historic epochs, occurring upon the sea beach of Cheshire, and to the Roman remains found at Wilderspool; the latter, as upon previous occasions, being most obligingly communicated by Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington. The untiring perseverance of this gentlemen in securing all the objects of interest, and his intelligent investigation of their varied manipulation and uses, are worthy of our highest commendation.

For a former record,* the writer was favoured by Mr. James Paterson, of Warrington, with a brief description of the natural stratification of the Bewsey valley near that town, a subject which he has since amplified into an essay, read before the Warrington Literary and Philosophical Society in the course of the past year. Reprinted from the *Warrington Guardian*, it forms a pamphlet, illustrated by three coloured sections, drawn to a scale of 10 feet to one inch and illustrating—

(1) The line of railway through the Bewsey valley.
(2) Half-section on the line between Bewsey and Sankey.
(3) Site of the west end of the Gas Company's property.

Of these the first is the only one displaying the ancient forest bed, a single stratum, analogous probably to the upper most of those denuded by the tide and always visible, save at

* *Transactions*, 1869-70, p. 269.

high water of spring tides, upon the Great Meols beach, the two beds being separated by a thick one of blue marl or silt. In the Bewsey valley, its single forest-bed averages about seven feet in thickness, or that of both the Meols ones united; its position, however,—lying beneath deposits of bog-earth and white sand, and overlying the glacial drifts—is perfectly analogous, *geologically*, to the littoral out-crops between Leasowe and Meols. The intermediate bed of blue marl, in the latter case, simply proves a local depression, which has temporarily constituted the *bed of a lake*, until at length, this having silted up, a vegetable and subsequently a forest growth has supervened.

EXCAVATIONS AT WILDERSPOOL.

Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, reports:—"The account "of my excavations and discoveries of Roman remains at "Wilderspool, which I read before the Historic Society, on "the 23rd of March, 1871, and which has been favoured by "publication in its volume of *Transactions* for last session, "brought down my proceedings to that precise date, and I "have but little further to communicate to your Report on "the Archæology of the Mersey District for the past year. "The labourers at the excavation have been removed from "the south to the north bank of the Old Quay canal, as "being more accessible to the sand carts, and, although this "bank of the canal is sure to be the richer of the two in "Roman remains, yet I calculate that we are at present "about twenty yards distant from the eastern limit of the "Roman station. But if the proceeds of the past twelve "months have been smaller in bulk or quantity than pre-"viously, this deficiency has been amply made up by the "discovery of an unique tragic mask, of earthenware, which, "having been exhibited at a meeting of the British Archæo-"logical Association in London, has been engraved there, "to accompany some interesting remarks of Mr. H. Syer

"Cuming, F.S.A. These observations, which have just ap-
"peared in the last issued number of the *Journal* of the
"Association,* I will conclude by extracting :—

"'Had time and space permitted, much might be said respecting the
"'Samian pottery both foreign and native, but we must press on to the
"'crowning glory of the late discoveries, the very gem of the present
"'assemblage of relics—in short, the rarest and most precious object
"'which the excavations at Wilderspool have afforded, a veritable
"'antique *persona* or mask of terra cotta; to all appearance the work
"'of some *Condate figulus*, at least if colour and character of paste be
"'accepted as guides to locality. Deeply must we regret that this visor
"'comes to us in such a shattered and fragmentary state; but enough
"'is preserved to shew that it is of ample size to cover the human face,
"'the eyes, nostrils and mouth, being open to allow sight, respiration,
"'and voice to proceed without interruption. There have been two
"'perforations towards the lower part of each cheek, and probably the
"'same number on each side of the forehead, through which cords
"'passed to lace the mask to a cap, hood, or wig, which covered the
"'head of the actor, for I presume there cannot be a doubt that it was
"'fabricated for the *theatrum*.

"'Among the Greek and Roman terra cottas in the British Museum,
"'is a full-sized *persona comica*, of fine workmanship, to all appearance
"'intended for the stage, the eyes, nostrils, and mouth being left open,
"'and a small round hole made in each ear for cords. There is also
"'another mask in the Museum, in which the eyes are perforated and
"'the mouth closed, which may be a *persona muta*, for a silent actor,
"'such as would be needed in some of the comedies of Plautus and
"'Terence.

"'Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon*, iv, sect. 133 seq.) enumerates twenty-
"'five masks for tragedy, exclusive of those required for the personation
"'of certain heroes, &c., and forty-three for comedy; so that it seems
"'perfectly hopeless to attempt to identify the Wilderspool visor with
"'any special name that has descended to us; but, I think, we may
"'safely pronounce it a *persona tragica*, from the grave and almost
"'ghastly expression of countenance. With regard to the antiquity of
"'the theatrical *persona*, we may just observe that Horace, in his *Art*
"'*of Poetry*, line 278, states, that in the time of Thespis, who flourished
"'B.C. 540, the performers' faces were disguised by being smeared with

* Vol. xxvii.

"'lees of wine, and that Æschylus was the first person who introduced "'the mask upon the stage. But if reliance be placed on Suidas "'(Choirillas), the poet Chœrilus, a contemporary of Thespis, was the "'inventor of such a device; and further, Phrynichus added the female "'*persona* to those hitherto employed, and Neophron of Sicyon that of "'the pedagogue (Neophron).

"'According to Virgil (*Georg.* ii, 387), some of the earliest masks "'were formed of the bark of trees. Pollux tells us that leather lined "'with linen was next employed; and we find by Hesychius they were "'afterwards wrought of wood.* All traces of antique visors of these "'materials have perished, and the three of terra cotta here described "'must be regarded as among the few and most interesting mementoes "'of the classic stage which time has spared.'"

Mediæval Objects at Garston.

In last year's annual, an interesting Penitential Scourge was recorded as found here, and a tracing from an engraving of it was shewn. Through the kindness of the owner, Mr. G. S. Robertson, the original is now exhibited. The writer suggested that this unique example of a peculiar class of instruments might have been in use at some one of the neighbouring religious houses, naming the Abbey at Stanlaw,† upon the opposite shore of the estuary. The conjecture has been confirmed by Mr. Jos. Boult's remarks in his "Historical Topography of Aigburth and Garston,"‡ where we find that the site of the discovery (10 feet deep), is a part of the old "Savoy lands" lying to the south of Garston Hall, (Grassendale), which appears to have formed a portion of the "common pasture" lands which "Adam, lord of Garston," (who died A.D., 1265), "sold, "demised, and confirmed to the Abbot and Monks of "Stanlawe."§

* Masks of carved or painted wood continue in use by several peoples. "An "extraordinary one, for an Indian snake charmer, crested with the cobra or "asp, painted of various hues," formerly in the Dawson Collection, is now in that of Mr. Cuming. One, coloured from the life, is worn by dancers of the Naas tribe of Indians of North Western America. An example, carved and stained, may be seen in the Mayer Collection.

† Accidentally printed *Skirlaw*. ‡ *Transactions*, N.S., vol. viii.

§ Coucher Book of Whalley.

Among the "Romish Articles of Piety," or rather instruments of torture, in English Convents,—described, illustrated, and published by the "Protestant Evangelical "Mission and Electoral Union,"—no fewer than eight varieties of the *flagellum* figure. All more or less barbarous in their character, these scourges are at the present moment procurable at Little's Ecclesiastical Warehouse, 20, Cranbourne Street, and at the Convent of the Sisters of the Assumption of the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Saviour, London. One only of these current examples presents us with the *rowel*, which is confined, and singly, to the termination of the tails; whilst in the early specimen, this object occurs in pairs, and throughout each tail, thus forming the chief feature and means of torture. Our example also differs in the enlarged size of one of its seven tails, in which both the rowels and connecting links are of larger and stouter make than the rest. The *flagella* in use are mostly of five or seven tails: the former being symbolical of the "five wounds of Christ," and the latter representing the "seven dolours of the Blessed Virgin." More rarely the instrument has nine tails, denoting "the nine months during which our Saviour became incarnate."

In the course of the past year, whilst excavating a drain in connexion with additions to the Windsor Iron Works, a curious example of the old Staffordshire "Tyg," or drinking-cup, was found. It is of a bright red earth, glazed brown over both inner and outer surface, and stands 7½ inches high.

Apart from the handles, fixed at opposite sides for handiness in passing round the company, the tyg is of unusual form and ornament. Above, simply cup-shaped, with fluted ornament, the vessel rapidly tapers downward *mult-angularly*, terminating in a circular base or foot, more splayed and firm than is usual in small crocks of this period. The vessel is imperfect, but enough remains clearly to indicate

the whole form, which is probably unique. Mr. Mayer has paid much attention to this class of ceramic produce, and his collection boasts some very early, curious, and valuable examples, but none resembling this, in its remarkable approach to a classical contour.—*Coll. S. G. Robertson.*

The brown glaze or rather "slip" is by no means common; black being the ordinary colour of the tygs manufactured at the old Staffordshire "banks."

Early Staffordshire Pottery.

Among the curiosities of native English pottery, no class attracts more public attention, notwithstanding its coarseness and rude ornamentation, than the large earthen dishes of the 17th century. Although usually known by the designation of "*Toft Dishes*," these pieces—in common, doubtlessly, with plates and pitchers of similar red earth—were manufactured during the reigns of the Stuarts, by several Staffordshire potters, besides Ralph Toft and William Talor, one of which names usually occurs upon the extant examples. Two of these dishes have lately appeared in this neighbourhood; one of which, said to have been obtained in Wales, is 17 inches in diameter, and only remarkable for the smallness of its ornaments, consisting of crowns, flowers, and knots, in brown. The other specimen has the full diameter of 18½ inches, and being a fine example, and for the past century at least remaining in a local family, it has been engraved in illustration. The centre displays a turkey-cock nearly the size of life, with large wattles and spurs; the otherwise vacant spaces being occupied by two fleur-de-lys and a rose. Curiously enough the bird was believed to represent that heraldic monster and myth, the *Liverpool liver*. The broad and flat rim on its lower portion bears the inscription, "*Ralph Toft*, 1676," the remainder being filled by imitation lattice-work. The whole of the ornamentation is in brown enamel, with yellow glaze.

CANNETTE IN ENGLISH PORCELAIN OF 18TH CENTURY, PRINTED WITH A HUMOUROUS SUBJECT BY JOHN SADLER OF LIVERPOOL, AND ENGRAVED BY HIM.

Liverpool Notes.

John Sadler,—his Family and Works. The inventor of printing upon ceramic surfaces, it is to be feared, has left but few personal notices upon which to found a biography. This ingenious man, of whom Liverpool and his natal spot (wherever it is), have abundant reason to be proud, was originally an engraver, then a printer of his engravings upon pottery, porclain, and enamel; subsequently a manufacturer of enamels, (and possibly of porcelain), and finally, having succeeded to the old-established printing and publishing business of his father, Adam Sadler, appears to have carried this on until decease. In the ceramic printing (as in its inception), he was associated with Guy Green, a clever youth who, originally a poor boy, had become an apprentice to the elder Sadler, whose business works were located in Harrington Street. Of John Sadler's engraving and printing, a choice illustration was given in our last annual; and our present one furnishes another of as good, if not superior, execution. The vessel is a pint *cannette*, or straight-sided drinking cup, and pourtrays "The Tythe Pig," a humorous group, consisting of a parson with a rustic cottager and his wife,—the one holding a pig, and the other a baby. The incident is described by the sixteen subjoined lines of Hudibrastic verse, quite characteristic of the locality and the period. The characters are printed in black, and in two types, the ordinary and italic.—*Coll. J. Harris Gibson.*

"The Tythe Pig.

In Country Village lives a Vicar,
Fond—as all are!—of Tythes and Liquor.
To Mirth his Ears are seldom Shut;
He'll Crack a Joke and laugh at Smut:
But when his Tythes he gathers in,
True Parson then,—no Coin, no Grin;
On Fish, on Flesh, on Bird, on Beast
Alike lays hold the Churlish Priest:
Hob's Wife and Sow—as Gossips tell,
Both at a time in Pieces fell;

The Parson comes, the Pig he claims,
And the good Wife with Taunts inflames;
But she quite Arch bow'd low and smiled,
Kept back the Pig, and held the Child;
The Priest look'd gruff, the Wife look'd big,—
——, Sir quoth She,—no Child, no Pig!"

An increasing interest in the story of John Sadler's career, and a desire to pick up any additional waif or stray there anent, lately incited the writer to undertake a pilgrimage to the last mortal resting-place of the inventor and his nearest relatives,—the old churchyard of St. Helen's, Sephton. It was a soft, balmy afternoon, when the shadows of the hoary edifice were found falling half across a couple of horizontal slabs, lying in the outward S.E. angle, and which were quickly recognized as those desiderated. The first to the left, on approaching the vestry entrance, bears the following five inscriptions:—

"Here lies the body of Adam Sadler, who departed this Life the 7th October, 1765, aged 83 years."

"Here lies the body of Mr. John Sadler, from Liverpool, who departed this Life 10th of December, 1789, aged 69."

"Here also lies the body of James, son of the same Mr. John Sadler, who departed this Life the 27 of Dec., 1794, aged 8½ years."

"Also, the body of Elizabeth, widow of Mr. John Sadler, who departed this life the 25th May, 1842, aged 88 years."

"Also, of Elizabeth Mary Sadler, of Aintree, Dr. of the above, who departed this Life 19 June, 1857, aged 75 years."

"Requiescant in pace."

The second tombstone bears three inscriptions, viz.:—

"Here lies the Body of Elizabeth Sadler, wife of Adam Sadler, who departed this Life the 10th of May, 1769, aged 87."

"Here lieth the Body of John Adam Sadler, Lieut in the Royal Navy, who departed this Life 30th Jany. 1816, aged 37 years."

"May he rest in peace."

"Here are deposited the remains of the Revd. James Parker, Catholic Priest, who departed this life on the 29th day of October, 1822, in the 75th year of his Age."

"Requescant in pace."

The above inscriptions are copied *verbatim et literatim*.

Upon comparison with those given by Mr. Mayer in his excellent paper on Liverpool Pottery,* a discrepancy will be found in the year of Adam Sadler's decease. That above noted is correct—proved by reference to the Church registries, kindly made by Mr. Peter Blackburn, of Litherland, the clerk—who further states that no entries of baptism or marriage of any of the above-named are to be found. The reason is not far to seek, it was a Roman Catholic family, and in almost every instance of the burial record the words *Roman Catholic* are appended. In this connexion the interment of the remains of the venerable priest in the same grave with others of his faith, as recorded upon the second slab, has a touching interest. For a lengthened period the recusant Roman Catholics were refused burial in the yard of this their parish church; and in consequence, "William Blundell, of litle Crosbie, "Esquire, enclosed from the residue of the said Harkirke for "the buriall of such Catholick recusantes deceasing either of "the said village or of the adjoyning neighbourhood as "shoulde be denied buriall at their Parish Church of "Sephton."† Mr. Baines, after quoting the account of the small trouvaille of Anglo-Saxon coins here found in 1611, states that no such place as *Harkirke* is now known.‡

From these short and simple memorials we gather that the worthy printer and publisher, Adam Sadler, lived, as also did his wife, to a ripe old age. Whether he was a native of Sephton or its environs has probably not been learnt, but very likely he owned some little property and died there. His son, on the contrary, evidently died in Liverpool, in the midst of a flourishing and honourable career and at a much earlier age, his widow outliving him above half a century!

Of the offspring of this pair, John and Elizabeth Sadler,

* *Transactions*, vol. vii.
† *Harl. MSS.* 1437, *vid. Numismatic Chronicle*, p. 97.
‡ *Hist. Lancashire*, 1836, iv, p. 215.

it is to be feared little is known but what these stones supply. Three are here mentioned, viz., John Adam (named John only, in the register), born in 1779; Elizabeth Mary, born in 1782; and James, who, born in 1786, died at the early age of eight and a half years. Thus only the elder brother and the sister reached maturity. The former appears to have entered the navy and become a lieutenant; he died before his prime, but whether abroad or at home is not stated. The sister is mentioned by Mr. Mayer as then (May, 1855) living at Aintree, and it was from her hands that he procured the irrefragable verification of the fact of John Sadler and Guy Green—not their copyists in Lowestoft, Worcester, and Bow—being the real inventors of printing upon ceramic wares. Her house is still existing, a substantial brick building; but in common with the appertaining fields, it reverted upon her decease to the Earl of Sefton, and the writer was assured by the present occupier, who was a contemporary resident for years in a part of the tenement, that Miss Sadler had nothing to devise, even could she have found any kindred to succeed her; in short, the family is non-existent.

It is always a matter of regret when any well-known family, which has often, perhaps, furnished sons or daughters who have taken a worthy part in their country's history, vanish from the rolls. A feeling akin to this and equally sympathetic is generated when the possessor of genius or excellent ingenuity, which proves a mortal blessing to numberless families, is found to be represented by no tangible or visible memento. It was but in a mournful mood that, as day declined, we retired from the abode of the worthy departed, and, proceeding to the contiguous old well of St. Helen, rested upon the massive wall, and whilst imbibing refreshment from its pure and unfailing spring, mused on the interesting events and sad completion of this simple but very human family story.

Novel utilization of Obsolete Money.

In the latter part of the past year a disabled schooner, the *Bee*, was beached at the Magazines, between Egremont and New Brighton, and there broken up. This craft belonged to Douglas, Isle of Man, and was supposed to be the oldest of its class hailing from that port. That its construction must have been effected within the past five and thirty years, has been proved in an unsuspected manner. During the process of demolition, the roundness and variety in size of the bolt "washers" attracted the attention of the owner, and examination shewed a large portion of these, to the number of from four to five hundred, to be *old coins and tokens*. The writer has only had the opportunity of inspecting a few which had been retained for curiosity's sake, but judging from these the greater part would seem to have been penny and half-penny tokens of the Isle of Man;—*obverse*, "God save the King," with bust of George IV; *reverse*, "For Public Accommoda-"tion, 1830," in three lines across the field. Among the other pieces, Isle of Man and English half-pennies of last century, with American cents, have been noticed. The whole batch is just what might be expected to accumulate at the backs of shopkeeper's tills, or was, possibly, a store disposed of by the local government after the latest of its tokens, as just described, had been withdrawn from public circulation. Their utilization in securing the timbers of the *Bee*, may be accounted for in the assumption that the operation of cutting a square orifice in these pieces proved more convenient, as well as less costly, than that of clipping the ordinary quadrangular head from copper sheathing for similar manipulations.

Produce of the Cheshire Beach.

The following notices include description of a few curious articles, which, though found during recent years, had not until the last come under notice: in most cases report had

made the writer acquainted with the fact of discovery, but he was not satisfied to classify them upon mere hearsay or a cursory inspection. Messrs. G. S. Robertson and C. Potter have kindly placed their late acquisitions at his service for record, that they may add their quota of interest to the unique little museum, sea-extracted from the bank and beach during the past half-century.

Primeval Period.

An *Arrow-point* of light-coloured flint, bi-winged, stemless and acute, with both edges finely serrated. The extremity is wanting, but originally the point must have been an inch and three-quarters in length; it is now an inch and a quarter. It was found by Mr. Robertson among the rocks lying between "The Eye" and Little Hilbre islands, and, consequently, below high water mark. The occurrence of this most interesting example is highly gratifying to the writer, who was the first to discover and record this mine of pre-historic remains of manipulated flints. So far as he is aware it is the only example of a rare North of England type hitherto found in our district, being *winged without a stem, serrated* along its edges, and narrow whilst unusually elongated. The central portion of the head being darker than the edges and yet running truly parallel to the tapering sides of the object, shews the manipulator to have selected a natural matrix of similar form, unless the instrument has been subjected by accident or otherwise to the action of fire.

Six Arrow-points in flint, of which one is white, semi-transparent, unbarbed, but well worked to a triangular Irish type, and possessing a shank or stem; three are single-winged and of a light stone colour, and the others are of oval form.

A knife or scraper is of minute proportions, a thin and narrow instrument of light-coloured flint, beautifully edged by a single stroke.

A scraper of black flint.

Two "cores," or lumps of refuse, from which no more flakes for manipulation could be struck off.

The last named ten objects, with a number of useless flakes, have been found by the writer in the bank or upon the beach of The Eye, Hilbre.

The presence at this tide-wasted islet of manipulated flints, dating from pre-historic times, opens a wide field for speculation as to the era of their deposition, and the contemporary condition of the upper strata at the spot. The writer has not hesitated to announce upon more than one occasion the conviction at which he has long since arrived, that even so late as Roman-British times Hilbre constituted an integral portion of the main. It not improbably consisted at this period of a large promontory, extended and curved at the extremity like that of Spurn on the eastern coast, where a similar denudation of the land has been in progress for unnumbered centuries. The flint instruments have a common loamy (but possibly *made*) soil for a matrix, varying from three to four feet in depth, and superincumbent upon the common new Red or Keuper sandstone of the neighbourhood. The contrast is great between Hilbre and the Meols shore, the upper strata of the latter, as illustrated in the accompanying section,* being wholly absent from the islands, through the elevation or outcrop of the rock.

Roman-British Period.

Bronze.

3 *Heads of Dress-pins,* which pins have originally measured 1 to 4 inches in length.

2 *Pins* of fibulæ.

1 *Key* of small size (handle broken.)

1 Portion of the *splayed rim of a Cauldron,* measuring one-fifth of an inch in thickness, and apparently formed of two plates of metal welded together. Cauldrons of this

* *Vide Transactions*, N.S., vol. vi, opp. p. 204.

era are of very great rarity: several which have occurred in Northumberland and elsewhere, and thought to be of Roman fabrication, are referred to a much later date by some of our best antiquaries. In this case both the bronze and the curved form of the rim are characteristic of the period.

TERRA COTTA.

2 *Fragments of Samian ware,* one having formed part of the rim of a patera (found 1870.)

Anglo-Saxon Period.

Penny (half), Edw. the Confessor, minted at Leicester or Chester. " . . . OSON LEI."

Annular Brooch in bronze, the ring digitated, 1 in. diameter, pin imperfect.

Pin for the hair, 6 in. long; its reversible and probably ornamented head is wanting.

Fragments of a vessel in straw-coloured glass, one having vertical and horizontal moulding; another is a pendant ornament, terminating in a rose of six pellets around a larger one: a similar object was found in the previous year, and probably belonged to the same drinking-cup or *biberon.*

1 *Bead* of amber, much decomposed by oxidation.

2 *Ditto* of stone, one coarsely grained, the other fine and close: both of small size.

Mediæval Period.

Coins— SILVER.

Penny of Stephen, rare type, cross patée, with smaller ones in the angles, and a star in the centre, mint illegible.

Do. (one ¼) as Hawkins, Pl. xxii, No. 270.

2	Do. (one ¼)	Hy. II,	London.
3	Do. (one ¼)	do.	Colchester.
1	Do. (½)	do.	" . . . . ARD."

1	Penny (¼)	Hy. III,	London.
3	Do. (½)	do.	uncertain.
1	Do.	do.	Berwick.
1	Do. (½)	do. (head in triangle)	Irish.
3	Halfpenny (one ½)	Ed. I or II,	London.
2	Farthings	do.	do.
2	Pennies	do.	do.
2	Do.	do.	Bristol.
3	Do. (one ½)	do.	Canterbury.
1	Do. (¼)	do.	uncertain.

1 Continental imitation sterling, "I COMES HANONIE VALENCHENENS," (John II, Count of Hainault.)

A Brooch, with pin complete, its very rare form closely resembling a horse's shoe, (a fashion recently revived,) the terminations somewhat recurved to either side, and bearing a zigzag ornament.

LATTEN.

A Personal Seal, the face of which is circular and ¾ inch in diameter; the handle straight, hexagonal, and perforated above for suspension. It is really a love token or pledge of affection, the device being two hands enclasped, with the figure of a dove above. The circumscription reads, "AVEZ LEL AMV"(R), a bastard mixture of Latin and Norman-French, characteristic of the period, but here carried to excess; it signifies "You have loyal love." This device is far from uncommon, the motto being of a kindred character but varied, and as frequently blundered, especially as regards the word *avez*, which is of frequent recurrence, but often reading *avet*. Two examples, from Dr. Kendrick's collection, are now produced for comparison; the one found at Wilton being inscribed, "AVET "LEL AMI," the other from Dorchester, "MOUN "QVER AVET," which was probably intended for *Mon Ceur Avez*,—"You possess my heart." Occasion-

ally the *avez* is abbreviated through abstraction of the final letter, thus leaving *ave*, which, being a well-known word of address, has resulted in a very natural misapprehension. The letters on our Cheshire example are but roughly cut, dating from about the end of the fourteenth century.—*Coll. G. S. Robertson.*

A Brooch, lacquered, of annular form, and possessing its original pin complete, ¾ inch in diameter. Upon its flat face a few characters may be detected, alternating with squares of imbricated ornament. The inscription reads, "✠ IESVS NAZAR," an abbreviation of the Pilatial *titulus*, "Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum," which, with variations of abridgment, appears upon some half a dozen brooches, perfect and imperfect, found on this shore, as also upon a spindle whorl the writer picked out of a bank upon Hilbre proper. These objects, however, are all of pewter, whereas the present small example is not only of a much harder metal but of infinitely neater execution, and the characters are considerably smaller, dating from 13th or 14th century.—*Coll. G. S. Robertson.*

A Brooch, circular, with pin, convex and plain.

A Finger Ring, with diagonal ornament; another engraved with a variety of rudely-formed crosses.

4 *Fermails*, or plain ring-brooches of small size, measuring only ½ to ⅞ of an inch in diameter, but each with its pin complete.

6 *Pins* of slender make, 1½ to 2½ in. long, and furnished with semiglobular heads, probably 16th or 17th century.

The metallic attachments to straps (of latten) are numerous, comprising, however, the usual forms, as well as proportion of buckles, hasps, studs, and other ornaments, keepers and tags.

Armlet (?) composed of flat wire of circular form, furnished with cusps, which appear to have held coloured pastes.

8 *Handles of Cofferet-drawers*, two and three-lobed.

2 Ditto, semicircular.

1 Uncertain object in form of a shovel, 1½in. long, and perforated at the end of the handle. It may have been merely an ornament for the chatelaine, like other miniature articles of both Saxon and Norman times.

Portion of a Jew's Harp, (see *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, p. 119, engraving of a similar object found in Kent.)

LEAD AND PEWTER.

Portion of a Pilgrim's Sign with one of its suspensory loops. The adjoining portions of the rim bear a part (or parts) of an inscription, "B III P" "L A V E," but the order of succession must be considered uncertain until the sign can be compared with a perfect example. No hitherto published one serves us in this respect.

Fragment of an annular Brooch, inscribed "R E N V," probably part of "Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judæorum."

6 *Fragmentary Brooches*, mostly annular, with lozenge-shaped ornaments at regular intervals.

8 *Studs*, floral or shield-shaped.

6 *Hasps and Tags* from straps of leather.

1 *Winder* for thread, originally four-spiked.

1 *Ornament* perforated at top for suspension to the neck, and bearing in relief a rude cross.

IRON.

A Sword of the Anglo-Norman or Early-English period. The blade is two-edged, centrally ribbed, and was originally about 20 inches long: it still bears the latten mounting of the scabbard (of leather or wood), which has decomposed. The strig or hilt is iron, and covered by a handle in ash-wood, its splayed guard being protected by plates of iron and latten, 4 inches wide and rivetted together. The flat-sided pommel is similarly mounted, but, for greater convenience in handling, one of its extremities

(inward in use), is more obtuse. Total present length, 23½ inches. This is the first example of a large weapon hitherto discovered here; some pieces of mounting of a sword, or of daggers, being the sole indications of their use in the isolated community resident at Meols. *Coll. G. S. Robertson.*

A Spade Blade, of narrow form, having only a breadth of five to four inches, to a length of eight inches: its sides, to the length of five inches, are flanged and equally tapering, enclosing portions of the end of the shaft of oak-wood, which has been additionally secured in its place by a nail of iron, inserted from the front.

A Pair of Scissors, in form somewhat resembling a single blade found many years ago, and figured in "*Ancient Meols,*" pl. 26, No. 6; but here the backs of the blades are straight, in place of being curved; and judging from the forms of the large series of knives obtained from this locality, the little instrument before us, which measures 3½ inches in length, probably dates from the 11th to the 13th century.

2 *Knives,* one perfect and splayed, inwardly at the heft, 9 inches long; the other imperfect, twisted towards the heft, 3½ inches long.

Object of uncertain use, lozenge-shape, possibly used as a *washer.*

9 *Heads of Bolts* (5), *washers of ditto,* (4).

2 Portions of *Horse Shoes,* of small size, measuring only 4 by 3½ inches, with recurved "frog," and holes for seven nails, 13th to 14th century.

2 *Ditto,* similar, but used with six nails only.

1 *Horse Shoe,* 5 by 4 in., sharply oval in form, with six holes, two of which are still occupied by the original nails: date, about 15th century. This is a fine and perfect example of its rare class: it is the only one having any

pretensions to age, as yet secured from the beach, that in Mr. Mayer's collection being of modern fabrication.—*Coll. H. Ecroyd Smith.*

Point of a prych-spur, 12th century.

Rowel of a spur, with five points, 14th to 15th century.

Buckle for Harness, of penannular form, with a flat tongue, longer than the diamater of the ring, which is 2 inches.

Key for inner door or cupboard, 3¼in. long, cir. 16th century.

Handle of a Ladle, the termination doubly recurved, 5½in. long.

Pin or Skewer, headed, 11 in. long.

WOOD.

Planks of Oak, rivetted together by a considerable number of iron clench-bolts, larger, but of similar shape to those used for boats, and as have been for a long course of years procurable on the beach, opposite the present village of Great Meols. Found December, 1870. No doubt the remains of a mediæval wreck.

GLASS.

4 *Beads* of small size, their form being between annular and globular, straw coloured.

Foot of a Bottle, with circular medallion, bearing $\overset{C}{A}E$ 16th century.

TERRA COTTA.

Bead, well formed, 1in. diameter.

Numerous fragments of *Wares*, glazed and unglazed, and ranging in colour from brick-red to a light stone-colour; one painted red in the inner surface. A portion of a *Bowl*, in red earth, deserves mention; it has been partially glazed in yellow, and remains of a white pigment appear outwardly upon the rim, and inwardly below it. The vessel has had a diameter of about 5½in., and two loop handles, one of which remains.

STONE.

5 *Segments of Hœmatite* (oxide of iron) crystals, rubbed down to a smooth surface, and worn or otherwise retained about the person as charms.*

1 *Amulet* of hard and light coloured stone, perforated diagonally for suspension.

Mule, or lower stone of a *Quern,* or hand-mill, of coarse ragstone, or mill-stone grit, (December, 1870.) Several examples are in the Mayer collection, and the writer has found several portions of others upon this beach.

SHELLS.

Limpet-Shell, of good size : its apex having been removed by some sharp instrument, the annular remain would seem to have been utilized as an ornament, and probably was strung with beads for a necklet.

BONE.

2 *Skewers:* one artificially pointed, the other a naturally tapering bone.

1 Portion of a small bone perforated for use, as the handle of a knife, or other small instrument.

1 *Bead* of minute size.

1 *Winder,* cruciform.

HUMAN REMAINS.

Tooth and osseous fragments, with charcoal, from a deposit of cremated remains, of uncertain date.

ANIMAL REMAINS.

Teeth of Deer, Oxen, Horses, Sheep, and Dogs,—all these being from the various strata in which archæological remains are found.

* The Blackmore Museum, at Salisbury,—exceedingly rich in every class of anciently-manipulated objects in stone,—possesses a pyramidal section of a hœmatitic sphere, rubbed to a smooth surface like our Meols examples, and perforated. It was obtained in *Peru,* and though this fact is interesting as confirmatory of *use,* it renders no assistance on the greatly desiderated point of *age.*

NOTES ON THE PRESENCE OF THE BEAR (*URSUS*) IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

By James Paterson, Esq.

(Read 30th November, 1871.)

The railway under construction through the town of Warrington is carried upon a viaduct across the Bewsey valley, where extensive excavations were required in order to reach a rock foundation upon which the supporting pillars were laid. About twelve feet from the surface, a subterranean forest was cut through, from which was excavated a portion of the crania and maxillary bones of a bear; but the fossil is very imperfect, and belongs to a smaller species than the cave bear (*ursus spelæus.*) There is nothing remarkable in the discovery of this fossil, as remains of the bear have been found in deposits of the same age in other parts of England, and recent researches in geological science have shewn the animal to have been indigenous with other extinct mammalia which roamed the primæval forests of ancient Britain. Our knowledge, however, of the British bear is not extensive, and it may prove interesting to contribute the little we possess, as gathered from scientific and other authors, in a brief collated form.

The vast quantity of the fossil remains of the bear in the caverns of Germany early attracted the attention of the curious, and many authors spoke of them under the title of *fossil unicorn.** Bristoe referring to the teeth of the

* *Cuvier's Fossil Mammalia*, p. 118.

German cave bear, remarks, that it formed for a long time part of its *materia medica* under the name of *fossil licorn*.* The first osteological notice of the cave bear was given by Hayn, in 1672, in a romantic and speculative work, under the title of *Ephemerides of Curious Matters in Nature*, in which he describes and figures many of these fossils under the title of "the bones of *dragons*." Vollgand, a succeeding collector, adheres to the same term, and even goes so far as to affirm that great dragons were then found living and flying in Transylvania.† About a century later, Bruckman discovered similar fossils in the Hungarian caves, and he appears to be the first who compared them with the bones of the bear. M. Espen describes and figures a considerable number of bones from the caverns of Franconia, all of which he ascribes to the bear; but they were subsequently found to belong to the bear, tiger, wolf, and hyæna. In 1794 the celebrated anatomist P. Campen attempted a classification of these fossils, and was the first to recognize any distinction between the fossil species amongst themselves. His researches, assisted by Rossenmüller, an anatomist of Leipsic, resulted in 1795 in the publication of *Materials for the History and Knowledge of the Fossil Bones*, which laid the foundation of the fossil osteology of the bear.

Such was the state of this science up to the publication of Baron Cuvier's great work, who though remote from the actual locality of these bones, was fortunate enough, by his

* *World before the Deluge*, p. 424.

† I have not been able to find any record which gives a description of these so-called "dragons," but an account of a great dragon slain by Valentine, one of the Knights of Malta, is recorded.—L'Abbe de Vertot, vol. ii, p. 250. Francis I, king of France, was presented in 1530 with a dragon, having seven heads and two feet, which for its rarity was said to be worth 2,000 ducats —Chronic. Cromeor. Politic, Lib. ii, p. 349. Saint George of Cappadocia, who encountered and slew a great dragon about the middle of the third century A.D., has been elected as the patron saint of England, and his figure is one of the badges of the most noble Order of the Garter.—Dr. Heylin's *Hist of St. George*, part i, c. 5, s. 4; Spenser's *Faery Queen*, book i, c. 10, vol. ii, p. 157; Selden's *Notes on Drayton's Polyolbion*, p. 68.

access to valuable collections, to treat the subject in a manner infinitely more complete than any of his predecessors had done. He enters largely and minutely into a comparative anatomical examination of the fossils with living species, and the result of his observations led him to classify them under two distinct species. To the cave bear he gave the name of *Ursus Spelæus*, and the other *Ursus Artoideus*. All the others he considered varieties of these two.

The publication of Cuvier's work proved a great stimulus to the palæontologists in England, at which time comparatively little was known of the ancient ruminantia of the British Isles, and recent investigations have brought to light a large series of fossil carnivora, from the ossiferous caves and fissures in the rock formation of England, identical with continental species. A systematic exploration into most of the ossiferous caves then known was undertaken by Dr. Buckland, and the results of his interesting researches were published in 1823, in his *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*. In Kent's Hole, near Torquay, Devon, were found the remains of bears, hyænas, elephants, &c.; and he considered it to have been inhabited by bears before it became a den for hyænas. Recent investigations into this repository of extinct mammalia have brought to light remains of the bear in great abundance.* The species found in this cave have been identified by Professor Owen, and were referable to U. Spelæus and U. Priscus (Goldf.) Owen remarks concerning the latter that its absorbent condition hardly permits a doubt that it is of the same antiquity as the remains of U. Spelæus. At Oreston, on the coast of Devonshire, teeth and bones of the bear were discovered in 1821 referable to U. Priscus and U. Spelæus.† Remains of the bear have also been found in the bone caves on Durdham

* *Proc. Geol. Soc.*, vol. iii, p. 386. *Trans. Geol. Soc.*, *2nd S.*, vol. vi, p. 438. *Reports Brit. Assoc.*, 1865 to 1870 inclusive.

† Owen's *British Mammals*, p. 103.

Down, near Bristol, and the cave at Paviland.* The Brixham cave, Torquay, was discovered and explored by Dr. Falconer in 1858,† and subsequently by others,‡ in which numerous mammalian remains have been found—amongst them the left hind leg of a bear.§ Similar remains are described by Professor Owen as having been found in Yelm Bridge cavern, and by Mr. Boyd Dawkins in the ossiferous caves of the Mendip Hills. Their remains have also been found associated with other cave animals near Kendal,|| and a cave at Kirkdale in Yorkshire has yielded some large remains of U. Spelæus. The huge size which the males of this species attained may be estimated by the upper canine tooth from the cave at Kirkdale described and figured by Dr. Buckland,¶ and from Kent's Hole, described and figured by Professor Owen,** the size of which extinct bear, Cuvier says, must have been equal to that of a large horse.

From the researches of palæontologists it does not appear that the remains of fossil bears are so numerous in this country as on the Continent. In the great bear cave of Kühloch in Germany, it is remarked by Dr. Buckland, that the quantity of animal matter within the cavern cannot be computed at less than 5,000 cubic feet; and that allowing two cubic feet of dust and bones for each individual animal, we shall have in this single vault the remains of at least 2,500 bears.††

Ursus Spelæus, along with the remains of other fauna, are said to have been discovered about Bedford, Grays in Essex, Whitstable; in the valley of the Severn, at Tewkesbury; in the pleocene deposits of Beeston, in Norfolk; in the fresh-water formation at Clacton, and in the river gravels at Illford

* Falconer *Palæon. Mem.*, vol. ii, p. 538. *Quarterly Jour. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xvi, p. 487.

† *Palæon. Mem.*, vol. ii, p. 486. ‡ *Quar. Jour. Geol. Soc.*, vol. xvi, p. 189. Lubbock, *Pre-hist. Times*, pp. 283, 307, 2nd edit. § *Geologist*, vol. iv, p. 154. Goodwin's *Archæol. Hand Book*, vol. ii. || Owen's *Foss. Mam.*; Anstead's *Geol.*, vol. ii, p. 142. ¶ *Reliquiæ Diluvianæ*, p. 261. ** *British Foss. Mam.*, p. 91. †† *Notes on Reliq. Diluv.*, pp. 138, 139.

and other places in that neighbourhood.* Mr. Boyd Dawkins, however, entertains a doubt whether any clear case of the remains of this species has been found in the river drift gravels. It is observed by Professor Owen that the latest ursine remains having any claim to be admitted into a record of British fossils are the entire skull and portions of the upper and lower jaws of the bear found in the Cambridgeshire Fen, and they belong to the existing European black variety of Ursus Arctos.† The oldest fossil referable to the genus *ursus* from British strata is the crown of a molar tooth which was found associated with the teeth of a hog, and a species of felis as large as a leopard at Newbourn, near Woodbridge in Suffolk.‡ The stratum is believed by Sir Charles Lyell to belong to the red crag; if so, the fossil in question is referable to miocene strata, and would give a pre-glacial occupation to the bear in the British Isles. Their remains have been found in the limestone caves near Settle in Yorkshire, imbedded beneath deep stiff clay.§ These caves were examined by me recently, and I have no doubt the overlying clay is of glacial origin, which presumably confirms its pre-glacial antiquity.

Since this paper was written, an excellent article by Mr. Boyd Dawkins, on British bears and wolves, has been published in the *Popular Science Review* for June, 1871, in which he describes Ursus Spelæus having been found at Buxton in a deposit of pre-glacial origin; and it is the opinion of Mr. Dawkins that the bear is one of the few British mammals which survived the changes characteristic of that epoch.

* *Prestwich Phil. Trans*, 1864, p. 284. "Quaternary Mam." in Lubbock's *Pre-hist. Times. Palæon. Mem.*, vol. xviii, p. 22.

† The Fen bear was discovered five feet below the surface, and is now preserved in the Woodwardian museum. The upper and under jaw of the same species, and from the same locality, is in the possession of Sir P. de M. Grey Egerton, Bart. In size the Fen bear appears to have been little inferior to the great cave bear.

‡ Morris's *British Fossils*, p. 362.

§ *Archæologia* xxix, pp. 384, 385. *Athenæum*, 1851, p. 718.

During the historic period the bear existed in the South of England, the Midland shires, the North, in Wales, and in Scotland. It was common till about the end of the third century at least.

There are several collections of historical Triads still extant in the Welsh language, which Mr. York, in his "Royal Tribes," supposes to have been compiled about the year 650. The most complete of these Triads have been published in the *Myvrian Archaiology*, from which we learn that, when the tribe of the Cymry first settled in the island, it was full of bears, wolves, and horned cattle, &c. Plutarch relates they were transported to Rome, and were held in great estimation on account of their superior fierceness. The learned author of the *History of Manchester*, quoting from Claudean, says that amongst the wild beasts which infested the forests of Britain was a numerous breed of bears. It is also reported of the Emperor Claudius, who, upon his return to Rome from the conquest of Britain, exhibited, amongst other concomitants of his triumph, combats of British bears.* In the excavations of the hypocausts at Cilurnum on the Roman wall, the tooth of a bear of large size was found, perforated with two holes, by which it had probably been suspended and worn as a badge upon the person of its captor. A bear hunt is recorded in the Chronicles of Winton as having taken place in Scotland, A.D. 885; and Martial makes allusion to the same practice. The records, however, relating to its existence in historic times are very scanty, and not always reliable.

Amongst the legends blended with historic narrative in the writings of Boece, he relates that the son of Alexander Bois,

* Such was the extent to which this passion was carried by the Romans, that about the beginning of the third century, during the consulship of Gordianus, an incredible number of wild beasts were conveyed to Rome for the amusement of the people, and no less than one thousand bears were hunted and killed in one day.—Goltz, p. 102; Gordianus, p. 158; *Universal Hist.*, vol. vi, p. 391.

who with his mother had been preserved when the castle of Urquhart was taken by Edward I, killed a mighty bear that infested the country, and in memory of the event received the appellation of *For-beast*, which afterwards came to be pronounced *Forbes*.*

A similar legend is associated with the name of Gordon, who, in 1057, is said to have slain a fierce bear that wasted the country. The tradition relates that upon the occasion of a royal hunt, a bear of unusual size suddenly turned at bay, and made straight for the king, who headed the pursuit. The royal train stood paralysed, or fled: one veteran retainer alone stood unappalled, and, rushing in, when the bear was attacking the king, by dint of strength *gored* him down to the ground: hence *Gordon*.† Such is the tradition of the Huntly bear, which had no foundation in fact.‡ The Gordons obtained their names from Gordon-in-the-Merse, where their ancestor, an Anglo-Norman, first settled in the reign of David I.§

A singular story is related by Siward Earl of Northumbria in giving an account of his grandmother, the daughter of a Danish earl, who, as she was walking one day in the wood near her father's house, accompanied only by her woman, a large bear, rushing from among the trees and frightening away her attendant, carried off the young lady alone, &c.||

It would be difficult at this date to pronounce with any degree of certainty whether the Saxon word *arth*, which signifies bear, has been derived from the representative of

* The surname of Forbes was derived from the lands of Forbes *v.* Aberdeen, granted by Alexander II, about the middle of the 18th century, to the progenitor of this noble family.—*Burke's Peerage.*

† Ferrerius' *History of the name Gordon.* Buchan's *Ancient Ballads*, vol. ii, p. 312.

‡ Notes to Barber's *Bruce*, New Edit., p. 450; Pennant's Notes in Lightfoot's *Flora Scotica*, i, p. 15; Laing's *Scottish Seals*, pp. 55, 56.

§ Chambers's *Caledonia.*

|| Brompton's *Chron.*, p. 809, 945. Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 16. Notes to Rappin's Hist., vol. i, p. 134.

the northern bear, which was an object of worship under the ancient mythology of Britain, or whether in part due to the fabulous Arthur of romance, or the traditionary retreats and haunts of the bear. Certain it is that the names of many of our mountains, woods, and rivers may be ascribed to one or other of these causes. Less uncertain is the Roman name *Urswick* applied to a district in Ulverston, near the old Roman road to Carlisle, signifying "the place of the bear." *Urspeth* is the name given to a district in Chester-le-Street, Durham, and is probably a contraction of the words "Ursus path." In the mountainous districts of Westmoreland and Cumberland, which doubtless contained large herds of bears, we have no records handed down to us; but in the early ages, before the introduction of letters, the achievements of heroes were perpetuated by rude sculptures on stone: to such probably the antique monument in the churchyard of the ancient town of Penrith belongs. The legend connected with it relates that a Sir Owen Cæsarius, a famous warrior, killed so many wild bears, which infested the country in great numbers, that the monument was erected in honour of the execution he made amongst them.

The passion for hunting which actuated the Saxon kings and thanes doubtless contributed to a large extent in rendering their existence very scarce for at least a century before the close of the Saxon period. Mr. Newman, in his paper on *The Death of Species*, considers the bear to have died out about the year 1041, or 1081. This appears to be about the date which Camden and other writers assign to the Caledonian bear; but Mr. Newman gives no particulars as a reason for fixing upon those dates, and they are probably assumed from the passage in Domesday, in which it is recorded that the town of Norwich, in the time of the Confessor, furnished annually one bear to the king, and six dogs for baiting it. I think it more than probable the Norwich bears must either

have been imported, or they were the remnants of British bears preserved for the purpose of baiting. The hunting of the wild bear was one of the royal sports; and having, shortly before this period, become exterminated, the Confessor imposed a tribute to the support of his amusement, in the maintenance of a certain number of bears and dogs for the purpose of being baited; and, so far as history permits us to form an opinion, was the first to introduce the Roman sport of bear-baiting.* There is presumptive evidence that it died out at an earlier period than that assigned to it by Mr. Newman. The Poenitential of Archt. Ecgbert, (*Monumenta Ecclesiastica* in "Ancient Laws and Institutes of England,") which was drawn up about the year 750, speaks expressly of the bear as being at that time a denizen of the forest. In the Laws and Institutes, ascribed to Howell Dda, which were drawn up about two hundred years later, while enumerating the wild animals then existing in the forests, no mention is made of the bear; and the subsequent Danish laws are also silent regarding them. This evidence leads to the probable conclusion that the animal, as a British species, died out in its wild state in England and Wales about the close of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth century.

In the extensive Caledonian forests it probably survived till a later date. It is stated by Camden, on the authority of Plutarch, that the Caledonian bear maintained its existence, in spite of the huntsman, to the middle of the eleventh century at least.

* For several centuries after the times of the Confessor this barbarous custom prevailed in England. When Erasmus visited it, in the reign of Henry VIII, he found many herds of bears maintained for the purpose of baiting! Henry Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland, kept his bearward, whose annual pay was 20s.—*Chetham Papers*, vol. xxxv, p. 201. Mr. Beaumont, in his learned History of the Botelers, Lords of Warrington, found in the rent-roll of Sir William le Boteler, who died in 1380, the name of Geffison recorded as that of bear-ward. This office appears to have existed in Lancashire so late as 1638. In that year William Fox, of Garstang, bear-ward, was indicted at the Preston sessions, to answer for an assault, when Francis Clark, another bear-ward, became security for his better behaviour.

Such is the brief and imperfect outline I have attempted to sketch of this interesting species of our ancient quadrupeds, which long survived the decay and ultimate extinction of the more huge mammalia of palæolithic times; and its congener, the harmless badger, and last representative of the genera, is fast disappearing from amongst us, though not extinct at the present day.

REMARKS ON THE CHAMELEON.

By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.

(Read 16th November, 1871.)

The chameleon is a reptile that has attracted more general attention than any other saurian, principally from its possessing the power of changing its colour. For two thousand two hundred and fifty years Natural Historians, from Aristotle to the present time, have given minute descriptions of its organization and its habits; but it appears that most of these accounts have been compiled from the observations of Aristotle. No doubt exists that Pliny derives his information exclusively from this source.

In 1859, I read a paper on the chameleon before this Society, and in 1860 a second paper. The object of these was to show that some statements, which I regarded as inaccuracies, had remained uncontradicted during a very long period of time; and as these papers were illustrated by several living specimens, as well as by skeletons and dissected parts, I was confident in the accuracy of my remarks. The first statement to which I objected was "the absence of a "sternum." In the very numerous cases I have dissected I have found a bone that has performed the duties of a sternum, as far as the anterior five pair of ribs are concerned. But the false ribs are entirely unsupported by this bone, and the eight posterior ribs are united by their cartilaginous prolongations towards the mesial line of the belly. In young specimens, in common with other parts of the skeleton, this bone had a cartilaginous appearance, but in the older animals it had become completely ossified.

It had also been stated that the "clavicle was entirely "absent." It is true that the bone of the chameleon that performs the office of a clavicle, is very different in form to that

in the human skeleton, or to the furcula of birds, being a very compact bone of a rhomboidal form.

The curious mechanism by which the chameleon is enabled to strike its prey has not been fully described. When the tongue is not projected, the tubular part, about four inches and three-quarters long, is folded back on the lingual bone, which is about one inch and a quarter in length, and one sixteenth of an inch in diameter, and is so articulated to the base of the horns that the posterior part of the tongue is drawn back in the mouth, the whole of the tongue being then contained within the mouth.

The preparation for striking its prey is to bring the base of the horns forward in the mouth, when the tip of the tongue protrudes about a half an inch. It then watches its prey, at which it strikes with such rapidity and certainty, that in most cases I have witnessed, it has succeeded in capturing a fly on the wing.

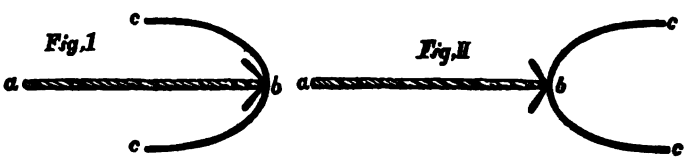


Fig. I represents the os-hyoides when the tongue is not projected. Fig. II the os-hyoides when the chameleon is preparing to strike its prey. *a b* is the lingual bone, round which the tubular part of the tongue is gathered when not projected. *c b* and *c b* the horns. *b* the base of the horns.

The principal object, however, I had in view, in preparing this third paper, was to bring to notice a fact regarding the chameleon which has never before been recorded, and so far departing from all former statements, that, if it were not established by undoubtable observations, could scarcely gain credence.

The fact had never before been doubted that the chameleon reproduced by means of eggs laid in the sand, and hatched by the warmth of the sun. In confirmation of this belief, I had

a chameleon which died immediately after laying thirty-two eggs; and many similar cases have come to my knowledge.

About five years since the Honourable Lady Cust procured from the Cape of Good Hope a pair of chameleons which, to all appearance, were a very much smaller variety of the *Chamæleo vulgaris* of Egypt. In size, it is not more than one half of that brought from the banks of the Nile. But size does not determine species, even amongst higher classes of animals. The female, to the surprise of everyone, brought forth nine living young. Her ladyship invited Mr. Moore, Mr. Turner, and myself to investigate the matter, which was established beyond a doubt. In a few weeks a second brood was brought forth, and since that period her ladyship has had others bringing forth living young. The number of the young vary from nine downwards. In the present year there is a chameleon at Lessowe Castle that brought forth, in Madeira, nine young ones at a birth; the cold summer in this country killed all but two, which are still alive (9th October, 1872.)

No doubt these chameleons are ovo-viviparous. But the difference between oviparous and ovo-viviparous reptiles is not, physiologically, so great as would at first appear. Both reproduce from eggs; but the former deposit their eggs before the embryo is formed, while the latter retain the eggs within the oviduct until the young are ready to leave them, and the covering is then lacerated in the act of parturition, and the emancipation of the young takes place.

There are two English lizards,—the *lacerta agilis* and the *zootoco vivipara*; the former is undoubtedly oviparous, the latter ovo-viviparous. The *zootoco vivipara* may be found in abundance during the summer months on the sand banks of Hoylake. Although these are regarded as two species, it is not on account of the difference in their mode of reproduction, but from their dental arrangements. Neither is size regarded as a specific distinction, since the varieties of the *lacerta agilis* differ in this respect widely from each other; and from the

remark of Mr. Bell, that *he does not think* the *lacerta agilis* ever brings forth its young alive, we should imagine that he does not consider, that being oviparous or ovo-viviparous is a sufficient distinction to determine one being of a different species to another.

Having, in the above paper, referred to the Honourable Lady Cust as an authority, I deemed it my duty to submit the revise to her ladyship previously to publication. In reply, I received the following information, which is, beyond doubt, very valuable, being the result of the most accurate observations which, perhaps, have ever been made concerning the habits of that extraordinary animal, the chameleon. I have permission to insert it as an addendum to the above.

"Sir,—It is with much pleasure I contribute a page to your valuable "little work on the chameleon. Your examination of this reptile, and "your scientific knowledge, have brought to light much hitherto un-"known by the earliest naturalists; but there is one remark, I think, "still wanting. I believe that the extraordinary power of *sight* to be "the recompense for the want of the organs of hearing. Though really "fond of anatomy,—which the more it is studied, the more fully it "proves how 'fearfully and wonderfully made' is every creature, and "how beautifully adapted, by its Divine Creator, to different climates "and modes of life,—my line is that of 'practical or observant natural "history,' the result of which I now transmit.

"The chameleons I have kept and studied for so many years are of the "small variety, from the Cape of Good Hope; beautiful little creatures, "apparently born for sunshine, when their colours are most brilliant, "but fading at night.

"I have successfully kept them on a tall shrub, inside the house in "winter, outside in summer, watering the leaves with chilled water, "morning and evening, as a substitute for dew. This is licked off by "the flattened tongue and brushed off also by the beard,* communi-"cating with the inside of the mouth. At times they will absorb much "water dropped gently on them; at other times none. In their own "rainy season they subsist entirely on water. They acquire full growth "in about two years, and change their skins every few months. They are "produced according to the heat of the weather, sometimes sooner than "at other times. They are not always brought forth at one time, for I "have found in my cage some larger than others. I have no reason to "believe that they are very affectionate to their young, but they show "an attachment to me and like to sit upon my finger, and if lost in the "garden, would, after some days, when I have been sitting out, return "to me evidently pleased and be most unwilling to quit my hand.

"Should you require any further remarks, I should be happy to "forward your wishes.

"MARY ANNE CUST."

* The dentilation of the dewlap or fanon.

FRAGMENTS FROM FORGOTTEN FOLIOS.

No. I.

THE LESS KNOWN WORKS OF FRANCIS QUARLES.

By David Buxton, Ph.Dr., F.R.S.L.,

HON. SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

(READ 16TH NOVEMBER, 1871.)

INTRODUCTORY.

THIS Society contains amongst its members many who like myself are enthusiastic lovers of Books. And if the present paper is wanting in general interest, I still hope that it may not prove unacceptable to *them*. Perhaps such an audience, "fit, though few," is insensibly present to the mind of every writer who deals with subjects of special interest to himself, and yet, I am willing to believe, that some of the topics which will come under review in this paper will not be without interest to very many more than the comparatively limited number who take an interest in what I may call *Literary Antiquarianism*.

DIVERSITIES OF DICTION.

Some Books are valuable, and are valued, for *what* they say: others, for the *manner* of saying it. We estimate one class of the Books we chiefly prize, for their subject matter; in which the results of thought, enquiry, and research are recorded. Others we value for their style or diction; in which there appears the play of fancy, or the grasp of genius;

where the thought is winged, or the fact embalmed, in language the aptest, worthiest, and best which sage or poet could command; where "thoughts that breathe" are linked, and made immortal by the union, with "words that burn." Of both these classes of Books the world has been enriched, from time to time, by thousands of notable examples, which in Milton's expressive words, it "will not willingly let die." And yet, if we come to consider the *History of Style* in writing, we shall see that though some Books, by following a prevalent but false Fashion, have seemed to gain at first a wonderful success, it was but a "bubble reputation" after all—as short lived as all mere fashions always are. The power of genius, and the life of Intellect are like that never-varying beauty of the human form, which lives on, from generation to generation: while the dress of diction, varying from age to age, sometimes enhances, sometimes disfigures, sometimes hideously and grotesquely disguises that native beauty of original thought and fancy, which is, "when unadorned, "adorned the most."

(a) The Euphuistic Style.—Of such fashions the first I shall refer to is that which is better known by the ridicule heaped upon it by Sir Walter Scott in his novel of "*The* "*Monastery*," than in its original dress. The "*Euphuism*" which is associated with the character of Sir Piercie Shafton, distinguishes that pedantic courtier as much by foppery of language as he was by foppery of dress: and in the work just named the "Author of Waverley" has thus described the origin of the absurd fashion which he exposes:—

"It was about this period that the 'only rare poet of his time, the "'witty, comical, facetiously-quick, and quickly-facetious John Lylly,'* "(as Blount, one of his Editors, calls him)—'he that sate at Apollo's

* Such, says the author in a note, and "yet more extravagant" were the praises applied to this writer, who, he adds, "was really a man of wit and "imagination, though both were deformed by the most unnatural affectation "that ever disgraced a printed page."

"'table and to whom Phœbus gave a wreath of his own bays without "'snatching'—he, in short, who wrote that singularly coxcombical work "called *Euphues and his England*, was in the very zenith of his absurdity "and reputation. The quaint, forced, and unnatural style which he "introduced by his 'Anatomy of Wit' had a fashion as rapid as it was "momentary—all the court ladies were his scholars, and to *parler* "*Euphuisme*, was as necessary a qualification to a courtly gallant as "those of understanding how to use his rapier, or to dance a measure."

Another quotation from the *Monastery* will conclude these illustrations :—

In answer to an ironical remark from a lady professing to rejoice in the light of this "Sun of Courtesy," though, she archly adds, it blinds rather than enlightens us, Sir Piercie Shafton replies—"Ah, that I had "with me my 'Anatomy of Wit'—that-all-to-be-unparalleled volume— "that quintessence of human wit—that treasury of quaint invention— "that exquisitely-pleasant-to-read, and inevitably-necessary-to-be-remem- "bered manual of all that is worthy to be known—which indoctrines "the rude in civility, the dull in intellectuality, the heavy in jocosity, "the blunt in gentility, the vulgar in nobility, and all of them in that "unutterable perfection of human utterance, that eloquence which no "other eloquence is sufficient to praise, that art which, when we call it "by its own name of Euphuism, we bestow on it its richest panegyric."

We now see reason to be thankful that *this* literary aberration soon came to an end.

(b) Pastoral Poetry.—Of another fashion how little now remains : I allude to the "Pastorals" in which our Poetasters took so much delight. Chloe and Strephon, Daphne and Clorinda, Colin and Phœbe, Corydon and Phillis have all given place to living men and women : and the nonsense of poetical "machinery," which used to be the necessary framework of every writer who aimed at putting his thoughts into verse, has been deservedly consigned to the limbo of things wearisome, impertinent, and useless.

(c) The Metaphysical Poets.—We thus come down to a later period. But I can only name, in passing, that School of "Metaphysical Poets," of whom I said all I had to say in

a paper on "Cowley," which was one of my first contributions to the Historic Society, and which will be found in Vol. VII. of our *First Series*, Session 1854-5.

(d) Didactic Verse.—There was strength and masculine vigour in the verse of Dryden, which will always keep him at the head of the next School of writers to be alluded to—the Didactic School of Poets. After him come, in their several places and ranks, Pope, Goldsmith, and Johnson; Thomson, Young, and Cowper, a little by themselves; then Campbell, Rogers, and, in some of his writings, Byron.

(e) Johnson's style.—But I must go back to remark on fashions in Prose writing. Dr. Johnson was said to have formed his style on that of Sir Thomas Browne, the Knight-Physician of Norwich, whose *Religio Medici*, and *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* have almost, if not entirely, passed from popular notice into the catalogue of Forgotten Folios. Now, it cannot be denied that along with the mannerism of Johnson's diction, there was a magnitude in the thoughts he would express, which was not disproportionate to the majesty of language in which he clothed them. The robe of the giant enfolded a gigantic form, but in the hands of his imitators it only made more ridiculous the petty conceit of the pigmy. Macaulay gives an interesting sketch of digression into "Johnsonese" (as he calls it) in his review of the works of Madame D'Arblay:—

"In an evil hour the author of *Evelina* took the *Rambler* for her "model. This would not have been wise even if she could have imi-"tated her pattern as well as Hawkesworth did. But such imitation "was beyond her power. She had her own style. It was a tolerably "good one, and might, without any violent change, have been improved "into a very good one. She determined to throw it away, and to adopt "a style in which she could attain excellence only by achieving an "almost miraculous victory over nature and over habit. She could "cease to be Fanny Burney, it was not so easy to become Samuel "Johnson."—*Essays* II, 314.

"The consequence was," as the Essayist says a little further on, "that every passage which she meant to be fine "was detestable," and he shews by various examples the lamentable degradation of style produced by *servile* imitation. Yet the formation of style by the study of high models is itself a kind of imitation: and this has been recommended in a well-known passage by Johnson himself, on—

(f) The style of Addison.

"His Prose is the model of the middle style; on grave subjects not "formal, on light occasions not grovelling; pure without scruplosity, "and exact without apparent elaboration; always equable and always "easy, without glowing words or pointed sentences. Addison never devi- "ates from his track to snatch a grace: he seeks no ambitious ornaments "and tries no hazardous innovations. His page is always luminous, "but never blazes in unexpected splendour. . . . . What he attempted "he performed: he is never feeble, and he did not wish to be energetic; "he is never rapid and he never stagnates. His sentences have neither "studied amplitude nor affected brevity: his periods, though not dili- "gently rounded, are voluble and easy. Whoever wishes to attain an "English style, familiar but not coarse, and elegant but not ostenta- "tious, must give his days and nights to the volumes of Addison."—*Lives of the Poets*, III, 292-3.

And why is the *Spectator* read now? Perhaps, among lesser reasons, for its intimations of the state of society, and for its collateral illustrations of personal and national history, but chiefly, almost exclusively, for its admirable style. There were many other publications formed upon the same model; and even written by the very same Writers, but how few of the many who have read the *Spectator* and the *Rambler* so as to know them well, know anything more than the cover or the title-page of the *Freeholder* (of Addison himself), the *Guardian* and the *Tatler* (of himself and his friend and co-adjutor Sir Richard Steele), the *Idler* (of Johnson), or the *Adventurer* (by Hawkesworth), not to speak of others of lesser note!

(g) Advantages of a pure Style.—Thus has immortality of authorship been secured by STYLE. It may sound like a heresy to say so, but my own opinion is, that if the Prose writings of Milton himself contained more of the charming diction of *Comus* and his shorter poems, they would be read far more extensively and with far greater pleasure than they ever have been or certainly ever will be.* Then again, contrast the effect of style, in the manner in which similar subjects are treated by different authors. Among writers on Philosophical subjects, who more delightful than Paley and Bishop Berkeley:—who more dry and repellant than the great Bishop Butler, though he had every attribute for dealing with his great subject, except that of a fluent and lucid diction? The "*Analogy*" is an immortal work: it has many conspicuous merits: it is read for profit, for improvement, as a duty, and from necessity: but never for the pleasure of reading, and that solely on account of the dryness and dulness of its style. Even when discoveries are superseded, and theories exploded, it is delightful to meet with such a writer as Berkeley, and read as follows—in the concluding sentences of *Hylas and Philonous:*—

"You see, Hylas, the water of yonder fountain, how it is forced up-
"wards, in a round column, to a certain height; at which it breaks,
"and falls back into the basin from whence it rose; its ascent as well
"as its descent proceeding from the same uniform law or principle of
"gravitation. Just so, the same principles which at first view lead to
"scepticism, pursued to a certain point, bring men back to Common
"Sense."

(h) Faults of Style: Mannerism.—At the same time it must not be overlooked that too great addiction to a manner, may lead a writer far astray, and have results nothing less than mischievous. The temptation to balance a period, to follow out an analogy, or point an antithesis, may sometimes

* Macaulay, I find, had noticed the same characteristic. He says, the style of Milton is "stiff with gorgeous embroidery."

be too strong; and if, yielding to the temptation, he attempts to "catch a grace" of diction, at the expense of exactness and precision of statement, strict and severe truth in fact, or judgment, or opinion, the result is a moral offence for which nothing can atone. And it is nothing less than a misfortune when *Party* History is written, with all the graces of a splendid diction. By "Party History" I mean—not the history of a political party: to that there can be no possible objection:—but national History written with a party bias. If Lord Macaulay, for example, had given us a History of England in which *all* the facts of History were presented with the matchless power with which he has set forth *some* of them;—if he had permitted us to believe that a patriot *could* exist on one side—the one not his own—*as well as* on the other; in office, as well as in opposition, and *vice versâ;* and had boldly taught that honour and probity and high principle are not the exclusive attributes of a single party in the State—that being, of course, his own party,—he would then have done a far greater service than he has done. But for any author to bend and make the facts of history all point one way, is neither natural nor fair,—moreover, it is not true, for it can only be done by a *suppressio veri* of facts which cannot be otherwise regarded than as an offence against the strict, immutable rules of morality and religion. Whatever may change, *they* cannot change, and it is impossible to justify any act on *party* grounds which cannot be justified on the higher grounds of strict morality. I am aware that this is unpalatable teaching, for it is directed against a common fault: it being within the experience of every one amongst us that men with strong party preferences will do that, in the interests of their party, which they would not do under any other circumstances on any consideration whatever.

The most permanent form of this vice is doubtless to be found in such party histories as I have glanced at. But those

readers who possess knowledge of the subject, or are equally strongly wedded to the other side, refuse the conclusions of the party writer altogether. Those who *do* accept them are either partisans, with whom they are already foregone conclusions; or ignorant persons, whom they mislead. Party Historians are like the Counsel in a suit at law. Their office is to extol one party at the expense of another. The true Historian, as I understand his duty, cannot so pervert his office;—he surveys all the facts, weighs all the circumstances, judges all the actors in the living Drama "without favour or "affection," or the reverse; and then his "true verdict gives, "according to the evidence." A party historian,—that is, a *partial* historian,—appears to me to be as bad as a partial Judge: for the office of the Historian *is* to judge, and not to advocate:—not to dress up evidence, but to decide upon it. I cannot therefore withhold the wish that there were more real Historians, and fewer of those who, in the name of History, write to exalt "Heroes," to vindicate favourite characters, to promote party ascendancy, or advocate a "cause." These things are, in their place, most useful and necessary. For such purposes the literary field is open. Essay and Treatise, Pamphlet and Review are, all, available and appropriate means to such an end: nor would I grudge the zealous partisan the heightened colouring of Historical Romance, wherewith to set forth the merits of his hero or his cause; only let him not in such a work usurp the name and place of HISTORY.

I have just now hinted at one name,—that of an illustrious living Author who certainly in his "*Cromwell*" worships a Hero while professing to write History. But I shall not dwell upon that point. If I did so, I could not stop there. There are other conspicuous offenders in the same way among living authors, whom it would be defective to omit from any general notice. I quote the name of Carlyle to recall myself and you to the subject of mannerism in diction. The style

of Carlyle is unique. It has no parallel, and few, very few—imitators. A word here, a phrase there, a characteristic expression of his own, or one coined, after his manner, may occasionally be met with,—and some of these have even come into common use: but he has practically no imitators: and it is well that it is so. And yet it is singular, too. Dickens has had his imitators among writers of Fiction, Bishop Wilberforce his among Preachers, Newman his among Theologians, and the same is true among Poets and Painters: it is therefore at first sight strange that Carlyle should form an exception to a rule so general in its ordinary application. I ascribe it to the peculiarity—the distinctive manner—of his style. Strong and nervous as it is, and fraught, in his hands, with the life and energy of vivid thought and meaning, it would in other weaker hands only be grotesque and ridiculous. And here, there is a notable warning. If you will examine closely into the relation between a writer and his peculiar manner, you will find that not unfrequently he is as much its slave as its master. Unless I am much mistaken, Ruskin and Browning would give us ample proofs of this, so would Macaulay and Tennyson, and so undoubtedly would Mr. Carlyle. It is true that sometimes the startling novelty of his thoughts is aided by the quaintness and originality of his language—and that "moving accidents by flood and "field," gain in interest by being narrated with all the accessories of a highly-wrought and skilfully-adapted diction, yet we cannot fail to see that there is sometimes a tendency, which is not always successfully resisted, to dress out things which are trite and commonplace in an array of pompous words. The matter of his speakers sometimes exemplifies a happy phrase of his own—"aggregates of bewildered jottings." (*Cromwell*, I, 28.) In the midst of solemn scenes, something grotesque peeps forth, and in the noble swell of some grand harmony, a jarring dissonance intrudes. But it must in

justice be added that if he sometimes seems to rank a little thing as a great one, making more flourish about it than it is worth, he seldom mistakes the importance of things really great. It is here that he is seen to most advantage; his genius rises to the height of the subject, and then his diction becomes appropriate. He can dress his kingly thoughts in regal language: but he has no rags for the beggar.

Use of Criticism.

And whatever may be said to the disparagement of the art of criticism, there can be no doubt that it may truly be credited with *this* effect:—it educates and forms the taste, by which diction is tried, and literary style is acquired. Through this we are taught to observe, and distinguish, and are led to our selections and preferences. We acknowledge and admire the wonderful union of lofty thought with stately diction in the Paradise Lost: but the poor Shepherd whose highest standard of poetic merit was perhaps the Scottish paraphrase of the Psalms, could only convey *his* opinion of the same great work by the answer—"please your Lordship, this is a "very odd sort of an author: he would fain rhyme, but "cannot *get at it.*" (Willmott's *Pleasures of Literature.*)

The Lesser works of Francis Quarles.

The title which has been given to my paper (and to which I must return after this long introduction,) is one which might very well form a general heading to a large number of articles. Many of the names I have now mentioned would direct us where to find ample materials for such fragments as I propose to bring before you now, from one author alone—Francis Quarles. He is best known to the literary antiquary by his "Divine Emblems:" once very popular:—a favourite Book in the same class of society in which Bunyan was always to be found; where symbol was aided by picture, and the latter,

addressing the eye, helped to form the impression which the author sought to make through language woven into verse. Philips, the relative of Milton, spoke of Quarles as "the "darling of our plebeian judgements,"—a phrase of which the meaning would be better expressed in our time by its true equivalent—a popular favourite. He was the contemporary of the pious George Herbert: was born a year before him—1592,—and survived him twelve years, until 1644. It was a year after his death, that the *Divine Emblems* were published. Like Chaucer, and Sir Henry Wotton, and others, Quarles spent a portion of his early life at Court. He was cup-bearer to James the first's daughter Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, to whom Sir Henry Wotton, (whose biography by Izaak Walton has made his name familiar,) addressed one of his best known poems, beginning

"Ye meaner beauties of the night."

In some respects Quarles resembles the School of Metaphysical Poets, but is far less addicted to the use of mere conceits than they are. While these are found plentifully enough, there is a great deal of humour and quaintness, better worthy of preservation. The copy of his works which I am about to refer to, is no "folio" at all, in the Bookseller's sense, but a small 16*mo*, from which the date is lost. It contains most of his smaller Sacred Poems, or as he called them *Divine* Poems; of which the following are the Titles:—1. *A Feast for Worms.* 2. *A Hymn to* God. 3. *Eleven Pious Meditatations.** 4. *Pentelogia.*† 5. The *History of Queen Esther.* 6. *Job Militant,* of which my copy is imperfect at the end:

* These consist of eighteen lines each, illustrative of the Lord's Prayer, the poem leading up to one of the invocations or petitions in that prayer, and concluding with it.

† These are a set of poems of sixteen lines each, containing two separate groups of five, there being two under each of the following heads:—*Mors tua, Mors Christi, Fraus Mundi, Gloria Cœli, Dolor Inferni.*

as is also (7) the "*History of Sampson,*" both at the beginning and the end.

The first work in the collection, so singularly entitled a *Feast for Worms*, is, in fact, the History of the Prophet Jonah, and of his mission to the City of Nineveh. The opening Section, which contains what purports to be the charge to the Prophet, presents us with some quaint and characteristic lines :—

> What then? Arise, begone, stay not to think:
> Bad is the cloth that will in wetting shrink.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Make Heaven and Earth resound, when thou discharges,
> Plead not (like Paul) but roar (like Boanerges).

Perhaps the parentheses in the last line are intended as a delicate admission of the anachronism of quoting New Testament names in addressing an Old Testament Prophet.

The Title is first introduced in the following Passage in Meditation I :—

> Why? What are men, but quickened lumps of earth?
> *A Feast for worms:* A bubble full of breath,
> A looking-glass for grief, a flash, a minute,
> A painted Tomb, with putrefaction in it,
> A map for death, A burthen of a song,
> A winter's dust, A worm of five foot long;
> Begot in sin, in darkness nourisht, born
> In sorrow; naked, shiftless, and forlorn:
> His first voice (heard) is crying for relief;
> Alas! He comes into a world of grief;
> His Age is sinful, and his Youth is vain,
> His life's a punishment, his Death's a pain;
> His life's an hour of joy, a World of Sorrow,
> His death's a winter's night, that finds no morrow:
> Man's life's an hour-glass, which being run,
> Concludes that hour of joy, and so is done.

The poem throughout consists of what I may describe as double Sections. After four lines in Rhyme, styled *The Argument*, in which the subject matter of what follows is described in the very prosiest verse, a description of the facts is given under the head of Section 1, 2, &c., and each is

followed by a "*Meditation*" of a corresponding number. It is in these *Meditations* that the most characteristic and interesting portions of the work are to be found. In Meditation IV there occurs, in the last quoted lines of the passage, a thought which every reader must have often met with, both in prose and verse.

In allusion to the flight of Jonah, and in answer to the enquiry—

> Can he be said to fear the Lord, that flies him?
> Can word confess Him when as deed denies Him?

the author goes on to describe different kinds of fear: first a "servile fear" like that of Adam, and Cain; then a "filial "fear":—

> A fear whose ground would just remain, and level,
> Were [there] neither Heaven, nor Hell, nor God, nor Devil.
> Such was the fear that Princely *David* made;
> And thus our wretched *Jonah* feared and fled:
> He fled ashamed because his sins were such;
> He fled ashamed because his fear was much.
> He fear'd Jehovah, other feared he none:
> Him he acknowledged: Him he feared alone.

Of the Pentelogia I will give two specimens. The first is headed "*Fraus Mundi.*" The abundance of witty conceits, with an occasional dash of poetic allusion, (as near the end of the passage,) will accurately describe the literary *status* of the author:—

> What is the world? A great Exchange of ware,
> Wherein all sorts, and sexes, cheapning are:
> The flesh, the Devil sit, and cry, What lack ye?
> When most they fawn, they most intend to rack ye:
> The wares are cups of Joy, and beds of Pleasure,
> There's goodly choice, down weight, and flowing measure;
> A soul's the price, but they give time to pay,
> Upon the Death-bed, on the dying day.
> Hard is the bargain, and unjust the measure,
> When as the price so much outlasts the pleasure;
> The joys that are on earth are counterfeits;
> If ought be true, 'tis this, Th' are true deceits:

They flatter, fawn, and (like the crocodile)
Kill where they laugh, and murther where they smile.*
They daily dip within thy dish, and cry,
Who hath betrayed thee? Master, Is it I?

The next quotation is headed *Mors Tua*, and in it the play upon words is managed with great skill:—

Can he be fair, that withers at a blast?
Or he be strong, that airy breath can cast?
Can he be wise, that knows not how to live?
Or he be rich, that nothing hath to give?
Can he be young, that's feeble, weak, and wan?
So fair, strong, wise, so rich, so young is Man.
So fair is man, that Death (a parting blast)
Blasts his fair flow'r, and makes him Earth at last;
So strong is man, that with a gasping breath
He totters, and bequeaths his strength to Death;
So wise is man, that if with death he strive,
His wisdom cannot teach him how to live,
So rich is man, that (all his debts b'ing paid)
His wealth's the winding sheet wherein he's laid,
So young is man that (broke with care and sorrow)
He's old enough to-day, to die to-morrow:
Why bragg'st thou then, thou worm of five-foot long?
Th' art neither fair, nor strong, nor wise, nor rich, nor young.

This is a style of composition which seems to have been in considerable favour in the time of the Stuarts. There is a poem by Dr. Henry King, Chaplain to James I, entitled *Sic Vita*, of a similar type: as is the following Epitaph, which I have never seen in print, and which I copied from the monument of John Hayman, Merchant Tailor, obit. 1646, in the Ladye Chapel of St. Saviour's Church (formerly St. Mary Overies) Southwark, at the foot of London Bridge.

Like to the Damask Rose you see;
Or like the blossom on the tree;
Or like the dainty flower of May;
Or like the morning of the day;
Or like the sun; or like the shade;
Or like the gourd which Jonas had;—

* Henry Neele (1798-1828) has a passage in his Sonnet on the Love of Fame closely resembling this:—

For thine
Is that mysterious witchery that beguiles
The Soul it stabs, and murders while it smiles.

Even so is man, whose thread is spun,
Drawn out, and cut, and so is done;
The rose withers, the blossom blasteth;
The flower fades, the morning hasteth;
The sun sets, the shadow flies,
The gourd consumes, and man he dies.

The *Meditation* III in our author's History of Queen Esther is such that I must give it entire :—

When God with sacred breath did first inspire
The new-made earth, with quick, and holy fire,
He (well advising what a goodly creature
He builded had, so like Himself in feature)
Forthwith concluded by his preservation
T' eternize that great stork of Man's creation;
Into a sleep he cast this living clay,
Lockt up his sense with drouzy Morpheus key,
Opened his fruitful flank, and from his side
He drew the substance of his helpful Bride,
Flesh of his flesh, and bone made of his bone,
He framed woman, making two of one;
Thus broke in two, he did anew ordain
That these same Two, should be made one again,
Till singling Death this sacred knot undo,
And part this new-made one Once more in two.
Since of a Rib first framed was a Wife,
Let Ribs be Hi'roglyphicks of their life:
Ribs coast the heart, and guard it round about,
And like a tender Watch keep danger out:
So tender Wives should loyally impart
Their watchful care, to fence their Spouse's heart:
All members else from out their places rove,
But Ribs are firmly fixt, and seldom move:
Women (like Ribs) must keep their wonted home,
And not (like Dinah that was ravisht) rome:
If Ribs be over-bent, or handled rough,
They break, If let alone, they bend enough;
Women must (unconstrained) be pliant still,
And gently bending to their Husband's will:
The sacred Academy of man's life,
Is holy wedlock in a happy wife.
It was a wise man's speech, could never they
Know to command, that knew not first t' obey:
Where's then that high command? that ample fame,
Your sex, to glorify their honor'd name,
Your noble sex in former days achieved?
Whose sounding praise no after times outlived.
What brave exploits, what well-deserving glory,
The subject of an everlasting story,
Their hands atchieved? they thrust their sceptres then
As well in Kingdoms, as in hearts of men:

And sweet obedience was the lowly stair,
Mounted their steps to that commanding chair.
  A Woman's rule should be in such a fashion,
Only to guide her household, and her passion:
And her obedience never's out of season,
So long as either Husband lasts, or Reason:
Ill thrives the hapless Family, that shows
A Cock that's silent, and a Hen that crows:
I know not which live more unnatural lives,
Obeying Husbands or commanding Wives.

There is another passage which I am unwilling to omit:—

Beasts only breathe: 'tis man alone doth live:
One end of man's creation was Society,
Mutual Communion and friendly Piety:
The man that lives unto himself alone
Subsists and breaths, but lives not . . .
. . . . . .
He husbands best his life that freely gives
It for the publicke good: he rightly lives
That nobly dies: 'tis greatest mastery
Not to be fond to live nor fear to die.

The length of these extracts warns me that I must hasten to a close. Here are one or two happy illustrations, from *Job Militant*, "on *Friendship*."

Friendship's like Musick, two strings tun'd alike,
Will both stir, though but only one you strike.
. . . . . .
. . . . . It is a Mine
Whose nature is not rich, unless in making
The state of others wealthy by partaking.

In the *History of Sampson* are to be found some of the best and most characteristic passages of the writer. Time and space however forbid the quotation of more than one, which will be the last I shall give:—

By Him we live and move, from Him we have
What blessings He can give or we can crave:
Food for our hunger, Dainties for our pleasure;
Trades, for our business, Pastimes, for our leisure;
In grief, He is our Joy, in want, our Wealth;
In bondage, Freedom, and in sickness, Health;
In peace, our Council, and in war, our Leader;
At sea, our Pilot, and in suits, our Pleader;

In pain, our Help, in triumph, our Renown;
In life, our Comfort, and in death, our Crown;
Yet man, O most ungrateful man, can ever
Enjoy the gift, but never mind the Giver;
And like the Swine, though pamper'd with enough,
His eyes are never higher than the Trough:
We still receive, our hearts we seldom lift
To heaven, but drown the Giver with the gift;
We taste the Scollops, and return the Shells:
Our sweet Pomegranates want their silver Bells:
We take the Gift: the hand that did present it
We oft reward, forget the Friend that sent it.

The utmost which can be done in such extracts as I have been able to give on an occasion like this, is to afford an opportunity of seeing what were the characteristics of the works, and what were the merits, of a writer who at one time held an important and influential place in our country's literature. It was his misfortune to have his lot cast in troublous times. Every man who took a side in the great Civil War, inevitably made bitter enemies; and as times, and the political tide, changed, it sometimes happened that enemies were more strong to punish than friends to help. Generosity to an opponent was not *practised* as a virtue, if it was even accounted to be one. If one party slighted and neglected Milton, (and would have done more, if it had dared:) the other hunted poor Quarles to his grave. On account of a pamphlet which he wrote, his property, (even to his Books and rare manuscripts) was confiscated by the Parliament: and he was "denounced," in terms which broke his heart. He died in 1644, at the age of 52, leaving a widow and eighteen children, one of whom, John Quarles, inherited some of his father's faculty of verse-making, but his life was not a long one, for he died of the plague, in London, in 1666.

I have thus introduced a subject which it is quite open to others to follow up. It will be found, by those who study our national literature, that many authors have been pushed aside into undeserved obscurity, by subsequent writers greatly

inferior to them in real merit. Many Books have fallen into the category of "forgotten folios," which would very well reward resuscitation, and a re-introduction into common knowledge. What I have now endeavoured to do for Quarles, I once attempted for Cowley, and I invite others to follow my example, and to "better the instruction" I fain would give them. The field is large enough: and it both requires, and will amply reward, many an earnest labourer. So, to bid them welcome, and to retire from my present task, I will conclude with some words with which Quarles himself supplies me:—

"Reader; Be more than my hasty pen stiles thee. Read me with "advice, and thereafter judge me; and in that judgement censure me. "If I jangle, think my intent thereby, is to toll better Ringers in. "Farewel."*

* *Epistle to the Reader*, prefixed to *Queen Esther*.

PROCEEDINGS,

TWENTY-FOURTH SESSION, 1871-72.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

Royal Institution, Colquitt Street, Liverpool, October 18th, 1871.

REV. A. HUME, D.C.L., &c., PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

REPORT.

The Session which has just closed has been comparatively free from events, some would say it has been monotonous; yet probably not more than three or four Sessions in the history of the Society have surpassed it in the importance of the work done. This consisted chiefly in two things—strengthening the Society in the present, and making arrangements for extended usefulness in the future. The Council have prepared their programme better than during the immediately preceding Sessions; there has been a good supply of papers, and these of a high and varied character; and the attendances have been more numerous than usual.

The Volume, which contains a record of the proceedings as well as the principal papers, is on the eve of issue, and in a few days will be in the hands of Members. It will be sent to those only whose payments are not in arrear.

Owing in a great degree to the resignation and lamented death of the late Treasurer, some of the payments fell into arrear, and a few misunderstandings arose as to whether previous acts of resignation had taken place or not. The Council are glad to be able to say that they have put these matters on a satisfactory footing, much of the arrears having been paid in before this day, and all questions as to membership having been thoroughly explained. They beg to recommend to their successors a careful attention to the finances, on the ground of prudence, and also on the ground of necessity; inasmuch as all matters connected with learned societies were placed by the Legislature on an ordinary business footing more than seventeen years ago.

Among the changes which took place in the Laws of the Society in July, 1867, was one the effect of which has not been beneficial. This was the removal of the three Vice-Presidents *ex officiis*, the High Sheriffs of Lancashire and Cheshire and the Mayor of Liverpool for the time being. The permanent recognition of the chief officers in the two shires proclaimed the Society's true territorial character; and the Council recommend that the laws be altered so as to restore that arrangement.

It is, perhaps, not necessary that the threefold division of the Council should be kept up in selecting and recommending new members. Yet it will, perhaps, be admitted, that such a division of the Members in general is of much importance, and calculated to prevent the possibility of great classes of subjects being kept out of view for any length of time.

The Excursion of the Society, which for several years past has taken place before the close of the Session, is in reality no part of the business of the Society; yet it is looked forward to with interest by many who do not feel that it is unnecessary, though there are societies in modern times which cultivate science by itinerating. On this occasion, however, an opportunity occurred of showing their great respect for Mr. Mayer, one of the founders of the Society, and their late President, and for inspecting a collection of works of art adjoining his residence. A large number of ladies and gentlemen took advantage of the occasion, and spent both a pleasant and profitable day.

The Council have the pleasure of reporting that the property of the Society has lately been re-examined, and they hope that the catalogue of books, museum articles, and of miscellaneous articles, complete to the present time, will soon be ready for the inspection of the Members.

In the matter of the entrance fee, the Council recommend that the practice of this Society be assimilated to that of the other societies in the town.

In accordance with the Laws, the balloting papers have been made out and forwarded, including the names of gentlemen recommended to fill the places of those who retire.

The Honorary Secretary then read the Treasurer's Balance Sheet, which was unanimously adopted, on the motion of the Rev. Dr. Hume, seconded by Dr. Buxton.

SESSION XXIII.—1870-71.

THE HISTORIC SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE in *Account with*

Dr. JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.* *Cr.*

Oct. 18, 1870.	£	s.	d.
Balance due Treasurer	117	5	4
Cost of Vol., Sess. 23—Mr. Brakell	60	14	11
Posting do.	3	6	1½
Paper for part of Vol.	2	2	0
Receipt and Postage Stamps, Envelopes, &c.	3	8	0
Stationery and Printing—Mr. Brakell	18	5	6
Do. Mr. T. W. Riby	3	10	0
Do. Mr. Walmsley	2	3	0
C. Tinling and Co—Advertising	0	4	0
Rent (Royal Institution)	10	10	0
Petty Expenses	2	11	4½
Assistant Secretary	25	0	0
Collector's Commission	4	12	3
Royal Insurance	0	16	0
Mrs. Johnson—Refreshments	10	7	10
Stephen Burke—Attendance	2	0	0
	£266	16	4

Oct. 17, 1871.	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions received	222	1	0
Life Members	15	15	0
Donation from Rev. Jno. Jas. Moss	10	0	0
Diplomas	0	3	0
Volumes sold	6	4	9
Do. do. Blackburn Free Library	1	1	0
Balance due Treasurer	11	11	7
	£266	16	4

E. & O. E.

FRANCIS JAMES BAILEY, JOHN R. HUGHES, } *Auditors.*

JOHN G. JACOB, *Treasurer.*

The following resolution, moved by the President and seconded by Mr. Wilson, was passed unanimously, viz. :—

> "That a former Law be revived—that the High Sheriffs of Lancashire and Cheshire and the Mayor of Liverpool be Vice-Presidents *ex officiis*."

Mr. E. F. Evans moved, seconded by Dr. Buxton, and it was unanimously resolved :—

> "That in conformity with the practice of other societies meeting in Liverpool, an entrance fee be not charged in future."

The Election of the Officers and Council was then proceeded with, with the result as shown on page iv.

November 2nd, 1871.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

Mr. John G. Jacob exhibited several newspapers, containing very curious and interesting items, of the dates 1793, 1800, 1801, 1802.

The following

INTRODUCTORY ADDRESS

Was delivered by the President :—

Another Session has closed, and we have started on a new one. The last had nothing of a special kind to mark it; indeed it was one of the least exciting that we have had. There was nothing special, like the meeting of the British Association, which gave an impulse to the two previous Sessions ;—to the former in expectancy, and to the latter in retrospect.

Perhaps this was so much the better, as the quality and usefulness of the Society have thereby been more fairly tested. We can thus know more clearly whether or not it is in a healthy condition. If in a sound state, it is like a healthy body, independent of artificial stimulants; but if in an unsound state, such temporary excitement may delay, but cannot prevent, premature old age.

It is folly and waste of time for a provincial society to imitate the best of the metropolitan ones; to say that no matter shall be produced and no facts stated but those which are original,—or to look to the

world of learning at large when we are only engaged in cultivating a small corner of it. We may, it is true, glance incidentally at what is passing beyond ourselves; and notice our own relation to the good work; but we should never lose sight of our special objects and duties.

A society of this kind has very definite objects and aims of a local character, the value and importance of which cannot be doubted. It should endeavour to keep the lamp of learning burning brightly in our own neighbourhood; to utilise the materials which are at present available, and to prepare others for the future; to cultivate friendly relations with sister societies, established for common or for kindred objects; to give and receive suggestions and publications; and in general to remedy as far as we can the absence of any intellectual organization in our town. I shall, therefore, direct your attention to what may be called our Home policy, and to circumstances connected with our general working; and I feel certain that such practical suggestions will be at once more valuable and more highly appreciated by you, than if I attempted a dissertation either on the general subjects of human inquiry or upon some specific portion of them.

At our last Anniversary, we had completed twenty-three years of continued existence, or two beyond the attainment of our majority; yet some of us remember well our earliest meetings, and the prospects of success or otherwise which were entertained by various friends according to their enthusiasm or capability of judging. We were, I believe, the very first in the provinces to attempt the issue of an annual volume; and with greater or less success the pledge has been fulfilled to the present hour. The plan has been imitated by others, partly no doubt from a feeling of emulation, as well as on grounds of policy, or from a sense of duty. But, whatever may have been the motive, it is gratifying to see a higher class of intellectual investigations, and greater regularity in laying the results before the members at large.

In other respects also, we have done something of which it may be well briefly to remind you. We have accumulated an interesting collection of books,—many of them the Transactions of other societies older or younger,—and a small number of illustrative objects. Our labours have promoted and popularised intellectual research, in a district where manufactures and commerce too frequently exclude literary and scientific subjects from human attention. We have had the gratification of seeing Archæology,—which has been and should ever be a prominent subject with us,—rise from its despised condition in England and other countries, to take its rank as an important branch

of Science; the handmaid to History and General Literature, to Geology and Ethnology. For our own locality, we have thrown upon the surface a large amount of materials which the future Historian of the district, the Genealogist and Topographer, will know how to value. And contemporaneously,—partly we may believe as a cause and partly as an effect,—numerous local treatises have been produced, of a larger and more important kind, for their respective districts, than the memoirs which find a place in our volumes.

Probably we have failed in one respect of late. We have been too much of a Borough Society and too little of a County and District one, narrowing our ground instead of keeping the entire area steadily in view; and the fact has been noticed by some of our best friends. This certainly is not a move in the right direction; and the most successful years of our Society, such as we hope to realise again, were those in which our County friends felt that they were quite in their place in aiding us. We should enlist the talent and concentrate the information procurable, from North Lancashire on the borders of Cumberland and Westmoreland, by Yorkshire on the east, on to South and West Cheshire on the confines of the counties of Stafford and Flint. We must therefore return, in so far as we have diverged from them, to our first great aims; and strive against the narrowness or local centralization which would make us in effect a Society of South-west Lancashire, under a false name.

It is for this reason, as one of several, that I am glad to see a return to our *ex officio* Vice-Presidents; recognising the chief officers of the shires year by year, and enrolling them at the expiration of their respective terms of office, if they testify a wish to be retained on our list of Members in their private capacity.

We should make it a point, too, to illustrate obscure localities, to throw more light upon others which are well known, and to embalm the history of public institutions year by year, especially those that are passing away. The knowledge respecting our own district will thus gradually increase; and inquirers will know where to look with the hope of finding it. Why should we not have every Session a full history of some parish or smaller district, or the illustrated genealogy of some existing or extinct county family, or the biography of an eminent person? All these are comprised in our varied and interesting bill of fare, and each would be readily acceptable to some intellectual appetite. I am persuaded that for such a harvest the labourers are not few, except by comparison with our numerous gross population. There

are many able and willing workers, the majority of whom require only a hint respecting the manner in which they can be most useful,—ready to become earnest colleagues and fellow-labourers. So long as any of these are strangers, there is a want of economy of our intellectual material; and I trust it is only necessary to refer to the fact to secure attention to it by the members of our new Council.

The illustration of a wide area and the keeping of first principles before us is analogous to the division of the business into Sections. By covering the whole field, even in effort and intention, we are kept alive to the question whether certain branches of knowledge are feebly represented or not at all, and we are able from time to time to strengthen the weak links of the chain. But, when subjects of all kinds are grouped together in one promiscuous mass, when instead of specific treatment of selected subjects a Society takes what comes readiest to hand, it practically sinks its demand for quality and stipulates for quantity only. A Society need never be at a loss for papers, if that be all that is required, just as a newspaper is never at a loss for matter; but I am assuming that the best of their kind should be sought for. In such a case, and we have known not a few, the Society sinks to the limits of the knowledge of its two or three active and leading men; and its researches lie say for five sessions in one groove, for three in another, and, perhaps, for four in another,—perpetually changing. It is this want of system which explains the difficulty sometimes felt of getting papers in sufficient number or at the required time; and it is the complaint of the Councils of several Provincial Societies, that in order to produce volumes at all, they are obliged to print papers which should never have been even read.

During the past Session two very important facts have occurred.

First the finances have been placed on a better footing,—as owing mainly to the illness of the late treasurer and his subsequent lamented death, arrears had been allowed to accumulate. A large proportion of these have been called in; and much of the dead wood of the Society has been lopped off. The true principle is never to suffer arrears to accrue; and it is obvious that any gentleman would more readily pay a single subscription for the current Session, than two or three, the volumes representing which he has never seen. As the volume is not sent out to members who are in arrear, at all events they are not entitled to it, the interest awakened by the reception of it is wanting, and when two or three volumes have lapsed, a member is inclined to fancy, erroneously of course, that he had resigned. It is not sufficiently known, or rather

I should say it is too readily forgotten, that resignation is impossible while a member is in arrear. I am persuaded that if ever we or our successors be found in troubled waters it will not be from want either of public sympathy or intellectual material, it will be from some oversight on the subject of finance. I have more than once alluded to this; even in the early years of the Society's existence.

Second, our collections have been put in better order; and will be made interesting and useful to the members. Some of our friends are not aware that we have a Library or objects at all; and others do not know the extent of the former. The three catalogues, as you have learned from the Report, are being posted up and will soon be complete.

On the subject of Members, it may suffice to say that a Society possessing a large geographical area requires for its proper cultivation a large intellectual one also. All men have not the same tastes, nor the same materials for investigation, nor the same opportunities; yet each may possess some knowledge of value, in a greater or less degree. Among 400 or 500 members, there should be a large number of instructors; but it should be borne in mind that more is required than mere numbers. Good men, like good papers, deserve to be selected and sought for, and in some instances this is required. Besides, we have had a good many papers, some of them of great interest and value, from gentlemen who volunteered from without, but who were not enrolled with us. There is reason to believe that auxiliaries of both classes may still be found.

It has been mentioned that we have already completed twenty-three Sessions, and that our twenty-third volume is on the eve of issue. I venture, therefore, to recommend that our next volume,—viz. XXIV, for the Session on which we have now entered,—be the last of the series; and that we begin a third series with Volume XXV. There are many of our members who do not possess the whole of the Second Series, commencing with Volume XIII, and still more who do not possess the earlier volumes. Hence, new members often regard their volumes as somehow forming a broken set, if they do not possess the whole of a series, though of course each volume is complete in itself. The two old series could then be sold to members at moderate prices; and we should get rid opportunely of our accumulating and now somewhat cumbrous stock.

The Report has alluded to the Excursion for the year; and it was very interesting for special reasons. It is a pity that the details of the Excursion are sometimes fixed upon rather hastily; for it may be made,

on the one hand, either merely a day of rustic enjoyment, a holiday with pleasant companions, or, on the other, a day of important special information not easily obtainable otherwise. Within our own limits there is no lack of suitable places to visit,—mines, factories, ancient buildings, ruins, &c.,—the age, the manhood, and the infancy of English life are all within our reach. But on all such occasions if we wish to profit there should be one or two persons responsible for the duty of teaching. Sometimes a formal paper should be read, but often a brief oral lecture is preferable; and besides the fact of seeing objects for ourselves *in situ*, it is wonderful what an amount of light is thrown on our past history and present state by a few even rude drawings. In some societies of the Kingdom, especially those for separate shires, the work is largely done at such excursions, prolonged sometimes over two or more days; and it certainly is a charming way of bringing us into familiar acquaintance with whatever is of value or interest in our own part of the country. There are obvious limits in distance, as the time expended in travelling is just so much taken from the intellectual part of the proceedings; and in like manner the indispensable duty of refection should be brought within the narrowest possible limits.

On more than one occasion I have alluded to the necessity which exists in Liverpool for Education of a higher class, such as Manchester and Durham possess, or even Birmingham; such as Wales has recently vindicated her claim to; and such as in countries of less national importance than England, or in districts far below Lancashire is found, as at St. Andrew's in Scotland, and Galway in Ireland. As population increases and material wealth is multiplied, the want is felt with increasing force; and what is worse still, there are too few intellectual men and these too little united to make any important impression on public opinion. Two important opportunities have been lost, viz., in 1854 and 1870; the second and third occasions on which the British Association for the Advancement of Science visited our town. On the first occasion of its visit, viz., in 1837, there was great popular enthusiasm, but Literature and Science had then scarcely obtained a hearing among the resident population. It was when men's minds had been awakened to the importance of sound learning, when Science in its widest sense was popular, that means should have been adopted for finding it a permanent home. The tide was not taken at the flood; the prestige has been lost; and such an opportunity may be long in returning.

It is true that an attempt was nominally made to collect our *dirjecta*

membra; that the persons forming our various societies and institutions were invited to send deputies for consultation, and that a consultation such as it was took place. But the promoters of the movement seemed incapable of looking beyond the Prospectus of the British Association: they aspired to form a College of Science only, but with an immense number of subdivisions; while other branches of human study, of at least equal importance, such as Philosophy or the Literature of ancient and modern times, were not for a moment thought of. Instead of beginning at the beginning,—like Owens College, which was at first limited to three primary Professorships and three secondary ones, embracing with more or less completeness the whole area of intellectual research—these gentlemen wished their project, like Adam, to start into adult manhood at once. And they would have had one limb larger than the whole body; one branch or section of study costing more than that for which a framework for the whole course of education could have been constructed, like the German or Scottish Universities or like the Queen's Colleges in Ireland. As a matter of course, the project collapsed without any further result than a few meetings and much discourse; so, as on many previous occasions in Liverpool, we have sown the wind and reaped the whirlwind. On the one occasion when all appeared to possess the same general idea and there was no one in opposition, the failure has been unusually complete; chiefly because the movement had a sectional origin and sectional aims, and because the extravagance of the scale on which the castle was proposed to be built almost invited ridicule. For, Liverpool is not yet London or even Manchester.

But to conclude. I think I am justified in presenting congratulations to the Society on the following grounds:—that a new and better spirit has recently been stirred up among our members,—that there is a visible and appreciable increase of industry and order,—that there is an extended and growing prospect of intellectual support,—and that there is an improved condition of the Society's income and property. And I close with the expression of an earnest hope that when I lay down the sceptre which your kindness has entrusted to me now for the third time, I may be able to introduce my successor in this chair to a Society of which he will have no reason to be ashamed, and in which he may place unqualified confidence.

The following Paper was read :—

On the Hide of Land,* *by Joseph Boult, F.R.I.B.A.*

November 16th, 1871.

Joseph Boult, F.R.I.B.A., in the Chair.

The friends of Members, including ladies, were present at this meeting.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Mr. Charles Potter.

A hand mill-stone, taken from the remains of an old building on the sea coast of Great Meols, Cheshire.

By J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S.

Locusts taken from a ship *en route* to South Australia, on July 7th, 1871, in lat. 11 N. and long. 26 W.

By T. J. Moore, Esq.

1. Belt of a Patagonian chief, presented to the town museum by Mr. Musgrove.
2. A piece of the Corsica and Spezzia Submarine Telegraph Cable, laid in 1854, and taken up in 1870.
3. A Scottish broadsword.

By Dr. Forsyth.

An interesting botanical specimen—the bark of a tree found at Ambriez, West Africa, used for making paper.

By Mr. S. G. Robinson.

1. An earthenware drinking cup found in excavating a drain at the New Windsor Iron Works, Garston.
2. Symbolical ecclesiastical scourge found in the same excavation.

The following Paper was read :—

Fragments from Forgotten Folios,† *by David Buxton, Ph.Dr., F.R.S.L.*

November 30th, 1871.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Mr. Edward A. Heffer, 2, Dale Street.
Mr. David Hutton, 61, Canning Street.
Mr. Alfred Rimmer, The Cross, Chester.

* Transactions, p. 1. † Transactions, p. 165.

The President drew attention to the fact that a sum of £100, and afterwards another sum of a like amount, had been voted by the British Association for the Advancement of Science towards the further exploration of the Land of Moab. It is thought that other remains, illustrative of Scripture and ancient history generally, still exist there, and that they might be procured, though the cupidity of the Arabs has been excited by recent experience. Accordingly a party for exploring has been organized, some of whom will proceed at their own expense, and others by the assistance of the public funds. It embraces Dr. Ginsburg, late of this town, Canon Tristram, and other eminent Oriental scholars, about seven or eight in all. The President further stated that Dr. Ginsburg would deliver a lecture on the general subject before the Members of the Society on the 14th December.

The Assistant Secretary laid upon the table copies of the New Volume. It is XXIII in consecutive order, and Vol. XI of the Second Series.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A number of Chinese articles carved in soapstone, comprising, (*a*) A small lamp rudely carved. (*b*) An ink well and separate stand. (*c*) A fruit dish carved in the shape of a vine leaf. (*d*) A breakfast plate turned in a lathe, and then carved.
2. Three sermons which had belonged to three generations of the name of Smith. The first was entitled a Christmas Sermon, 1750; the second was a composite sermon, four pages of printed matter being joined to twenty-two MS pages; the third was dated 1821.

The following Paper was read:—

On the Traditions of the Bear in the British Isles,* *by James Paterson, Esq.*

December 14th, 1871.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

A large number of ladies and gentlemen, introduced by Members, attended this meeting.

The Rev. Dr. Ginsburg gave an interesting lecture on the Moabite Stone, and on the proposed exploration of the Country of Moab. The Rev. Canon Tristram made some supplementary remarks on the subject of the lecture.

* Transactions, p. 151.

January 11th, 1872.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The following gentlemen were elected Members of the Society :—

Mr. James Holme, 109, Mount Pleasant.
Mr. Reginald Evans, 56, Hanover Street.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A stone celt found at Ely, mounted with an ozier handle like a smith's punch.
2. A large stone wedge, used for cleaving timber by some of the present generation of New Zealanders.
3. Tobacco pipe heads and a gun bullet, found in excavating near one of the churches at Lichfield.

By T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.

1. A copy of the *Morning Herald* for "Wednesday, October 21, "1801," containing the announcement of peace between France and Russia, by "Bonaparte First Consul."
2. A fac-simile copy of the first number of the *Manchester Guardian*, issued "Saturday, May 5th, 1821."
3. Printed pedigree of the "late Sir Robert Peel; and the Peels "of Lancashire, from the year 1600 to 1850;" including extracts from the registers of the Parish Church of Blackburn, and "a copy of a letter from the father of the late Sir Robert "Peel to John Corry, the Lancashire Historian." This pedigree appears to have been printed at Manchester.
4. A political squib, entitled "The Conciliad, or the Triumph of "Patriotism, a Poem. Translated from the Latin of Tertius "Quartus Quintus. The third edition, London, 1762." This is a very smart, and, in some respects, coarse satire on the granting of Mr. Pitt's pension of £3,000 a year. Most of the persons alluded to are distinguished by initials only, and hence some of them cannot now be identified.
5. A few loose leaves of a mathematical manuscript, written by the late J. H. Swale, author of *Geometrical Amusements*, and editor of the *Liverpool Apollonius*. The leaves contained some problems on circles of contact, which formed the basis of the Paper for the evening.

The following were expelled from the Society for non-payment of their subscriptions :—

W. G. Bradley,
John Mills, and
John Cape.

Mr. Wilkinson communicated the following :—

Note on a Map of Cheshire.

In Robert Morden's map of Cheshire, contained in Gibson's *Camden*, 1695, which is admitted to be very accurate, (Gibson's Preface,) there are two branches of the River Dee which appear to unite with the Mersey. The junction is a little above Hooton Park; and this branch then runs past Pool, Stanlaw, and Thornton, where the two branches unite. The northern branch then passes Stoke, Croughton, Backford, Chorleton, The Baits, and so on to the Dee below Chester. The southern branch commences at Thornton—Coughall being nearly at the point of the delta; it then passes by Picton, Bridge Troughford, Plemslew, Stanford, Hockenhall, Stapleford, Huxley, Tattenhall, Heath, Lea Hall, and Aldford, a little below which it joins the Dee from Poulton, &c. The question now arises, did these junctions exist three centuries ago, or are they defects in the map?

On consulting a relative resident at Chester on the question, he thus writes—"It is difficult to make out the source of Crimes Brook (on the "Ordnance Map), one of the main tributaries of the River Gowy; but "it is evident from the elevation of the Peckforton Hills that the sources "of it do not interlock with the streams which run into the Dee near "Aldford. All the hills from Peckforton to Helsby seem to rise at once "from the plain. The various heaths found between Tattenhall and "Whitby Heath suggest a table land, of slight elevation certainly, but "sufficient to mark the watershed. I cannot find any water connection "between Croughton and Mollington, except the canal; which may have "been constructed out of the bed of a brook; but the map does not "give any signs of it. Personal inspection would decide whether there "is any cutting near Butter Hill to cross what appears on the "map to be the watershed of that part of the county. No rocks "are noted between Croughton and Mollington. North of Stoke are "The Moors, and here there seem to be numerous brooks or ditches, "which cross each other. I may add that numerous tributaries of the "River Gowy are omitted in the map on both banks."

This scarcely settles the matter; and I would suggest the examination of other old manuscripts and documents, by some one near this locality, in order to ascertain whether there formerly were such junctions of the Mersey and the Dee as are set forth by Morden and other geographers.*

* The apparent island, and the two rivers joining the Mersey and the Dee, are nothing more than the usual exaggerations and inaccuracies of the old geographers. We have examined several large maps of Cheshire, from 1794 to the present time; and they concur in showing the following. (1) There is a series of low levels, nearly coinciding with the boundary lines of Wirral and Broxton Hundreds; and along these the Dee and Mersey canal is carried. But there is a water-partition at Backford, from which the natural streams flow east and west to the Mersey and the Dee respectively. (2) The southern river nearly coincides with the boundary between the Hundreds of Broxton and Eddisbury; but the water-partition is at Peckforton hills and Tattenhall. One set of small streams, including the brooks of Beeston, Ashton, Salter, and Crimes, unite with the Gowy and flow into the Mersey:—another originating in Keysbrook, flows into the Dee at Aldford.—*H.*

The following Paper was read :—

On Circles of Contact, as treated geometrically by Apollonius, Vieta, and the late J. H. Swale,* *by T. T. Wilkinson, F.R.A.S.*

January 25th, 1872.

Joseph Boult, F.R.I.B.A., in the Chair.

The Chairman alluded to the recent death of Mr. John Perris, who had for more than fifty years been connected with the Liverpool Library, and for the greater part of that time as its Librarian; and it was resolved that a letter of condolence be written to Mr. Perris's family.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. An ancient tobacco box of brass, carved with quaint figures, and inscribed with Dutch legends. Boxes of this kind were common in England in the early part of the last century; and often there was a hook at the hinge, to which a chain was attached for suspending it over the arm.
2. A bottle made of leather, supposed to be of the 16th century. Inside of it was a paper, with a copy of an old English song in disparagement of all other kinds of bottles. The burden of each verse is—

> "I wish his soul in heaven may dwell,
> "Who first invented the leathern bottel."

The following Paper was read :—

On the Poor-Law System of Elberfeld, *by B. L. Benas, Esq.*

Mr. J. T. Towson, F.R.G.S., made some remarks on the late Sir Roderick Murchison's views in reference to the Australian Gold Fields.†

February 8th, 1872.

Rev. Charles Jones, M.A., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By the Rev. Dr. Hume, for General Bellasis.

1. A coloured drawing of the large window in Bowness Church, representing St. George and the Dragon. St. George is

* Transactions, p. 25. † Transactions. p. 77.

represented in armour, with a chain round his loins for suspending the sword. The buckles are of a type well known here. He is holding the spear in a position for forcing it, and it appears to have pierced the jaws of the dragon. The animal has teeth of the shark kind, and the spear has a piece broken out of it on one side, as if it had encountered some hard object. The grass grows in tufts like the star-grass in this neighbourhood and along the shore of Lancashire and Cheshire. There appears to be a tree on the saint's left. He has a shirt of mail on under the plate armour, and the Red Cross (now the symbol of England) on his breast; but the upper part of the helmet, where the window has been taken away, has been filled up by the painter.

2. A drawing, by Mr. Knight Watson of the Society of Antiquaries, the full size of the painting in the Window, of the Virgin and Child. The Virgin is clothed in a blue robe, with a mantle of brown over it, having a studded border; the head is covered with what appears to be a cap or kerchief, and over all a crown. She holds in her right hand the representation of a heart over the breast; the left encircles the Child; both hands are very peculiar in their shape. The crown is encircled with something like a nimbus, but red in colour. The background appears to have been diapered, but in most places that has given way to time. The Infant Saviour is dressed in a lighter blue, with two cross stripes. The right hand is elevated in the attitude of blessing, and the left holds a chalice; the head is surrounded with a golden nimbus. This figure is supposed to have come from Furness Abbey; but the St. George has been painted specially for the window in which it is placed.

On the recommendation of the Council, Mr. Henry Ecroyd Smith was elected an honorary Life Member, in recognition of his valuable services to local Archæology.

The following paper was read :—

On the Peculiarities of the Gothic Architecture of Chester and its Neighbourhood,* *by Alfred Rimmer, Esq.*

The Paper was read by the Assistant Secretary, in the absence of the Author.

February 22nd, 1872.

Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., in the Chair.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Joseph Mayer, F.S.A.

An oaken chest, containing the boots, gloves, and spoon of King Henry VI of England. The chest is made of one of the

* Transactions, p. 71.

beams of Hornby Castle near Lancaster, the residence of Pudsey Dawson, Esq. Inside the lid is the following inscription on a brass plate. "This ark contains the boots, gloves, "and spoon of King Henry the Sixth of England, which were "given by him to his loyal friend and adherent, Sir Ralph "Pudsey, of Bolton Hall, in Craven, County York, as a token "of grateful regard, and a pledge (the only one within his "power in those disastrous times to bestow), for the zealous "attachment shown to his royal person, and for the hospitality "and security from his enemies afforded him for several "weeks at Bolton Hall, after the fatal battle of Hexham, "A.D. MCCCCLXIII" King Henry, when apprised of the discovery of his retreat, being desirous to save the possessions of his faithful servant, Sir Ralph Pudsey, from forfeiture, withdrew in haste from Bolton Hall, and was taken soon after at Waddington (within six miles), when he was delivered to the Earl of Warwick, by whom he was sent to the Tower of London. In the possession of Pudsey Dawson, Esq., a direct descendant and heir of Sir Ralph Pudsey, A.D. MDCCCXXII.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

1. A bouquet holder of silver filagree, of beautiful workmanship.
2. A Chinese enamelled box, containing a number of smaller boxes.

By the Assistant Secretary, for Frank M. Youd, Esq.

A collection of articles of Chinese manufacture, comprising needlework, embroidery, metal work, toys, swords, vases, &c.

The following Paper was read :—

ON THE FEE OF MAKERFIELD, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF ITS LORDS, THE BARONS OF NEWTON,* *by William Beamont, Esq*

March 7th, 1872.

Rev. A. HUME, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The friends of Members were present by invitation.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Frank M. Youd, Esq.

1. A number of very fine enamelled vases, of Japanese manufacture.
2. Beautifully carved Chinese flower vase, in wood.
3. A piece of ancient Chinese earthenware.

* Transactions, p. 81.

By Captain Brown.

1. A number of lamps found in graves and temples of the Phœnician period in the Island of Cyprus, 1865-71.
2. Dish found in the mound of a ruin in Cyprus in 1868.
3. Specimens of earthenware lachrymatories from graves in Cyprus, found 1865-71.
4. A number of vessels, supposed to be measures for selling wine, oil, or grain, found at Cyprus, 1865-67.
5. Metal disk, supposed to be a mirror, from a Phœnician grave.
6. Three small glass bottles from Phœnician graves, one with engraved characters.
7. Beautiful irradiant glass bottles from Phœnician graves, found 1867.
8. Glass bottle, glass jug, and tumbler, of peculiar shape.
9. A number of small jars and vases in earthenware—red, white and black—some painted and others engraved.
10. A number of heads and mutilated statuettes from ruins and temples in Cyprus.
11. A book of plates of Modern Egypt, and photographs of statues, found by L. Cesnola, Esq., U.S.A: Consul.

By G. H. Float, Esq.

1. A small bone altar-piece, with carved image of the Virgin and Child, given about a century ago by the Lady Superior of the Convent of Ursulines at Boulogne to an English pupil. It was then described as an antiquity, and is reported to have been blessed by a former Pope.
2. A carved representation of the crucifixion, supposed to be of an older date than the above.
3. Carved ivory cigar case and Japanese cabinet.
4. Black-letter Prayer Book, of the time of Queen Elizabeth.

By F. W. Holder, Esq.

1. Two swords of Chinese manufacture.
2. Japanese pocket book.
3. Chinese ladies' shoes.
4. Chinese compass.
5. Chinese spectacles and case.
6. Japanese doctor's medicine case.
7. Japanese chopsticks.

By Mr. Dyall, Assistant Secretary.

A scarf ring, of pure gold, of Chinese manufacture. It is ornamented with a number of figures in high relief, and has a very chaste and rich appearance.

The President read the following Papers:—

1. An Inventory of Church Goods at Stanlaw Abbey,* *temp.* 1537, *by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, B.D.*

2. Some Remarks on the site of the Battle of Brunanburg, *by Ralph Carr Ellison, Esq.*

March 21st, 1872.

Henry Dawson, Esq., in the Chair.

The friends of Members, including ladies, were present at this meeting.

The Marquis of Salisbury was elected a Life Member of the Society.

The following objects were exhibited:—

By Robert Rawlinson, C.B.

Thirty pieces of Japanese carving in ivory, of the most exquisite workmanship, being most accurate representations of animals, such as oxen, dromedaries, dogs, monkeys, &c.; and insects, human figures, skeletons, grotesque heads, &c.

By Mr. Heffer, in illustration of his Paper.

Drawings of the armorial bearings of many of the great families of Lancashire and Cheshire.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume and Mr. Frederick Broughton.

Twenty shields of the arms of Lancashire families.

The following Papers were read:—

Observations on the Armorial Bearings of the Families and Religious Houses of Lancashire and Cheshire, *by E. A. Heffer, Esq.*

An English Lady's Description of Christmas in East Prussia. Read by Dr. Buxton.

April 4th, 1872.

Rev. A. Hume, D.C.L., &c., President, in the Chair.

The following were elected Members of the Society:—

Lord Skelmersdale, Lathom House, Ormskirk.
Lord Ebury, 35, Park Street, Grosvenor Square, London.

* Transactions, p. 53.

Sir Thomas Edwards-Moss, Bart., Roby Hall.
Rev. Daniel Vawdrey, Darley Rectory, Matlock.
John Crossley, Esq., Briar's Hey, Rainhill.
Frederick Broughton, Esq., Brecon, South Wales.

The following objects were exhibited :—

By Robert Rawlinson, C.B.

A number of beautiful carvings in ivory, of reptiles, birds, insects, &c.

By the Rev. Dr. Hume.

A collection of ancient and modern finger rings, including massive gold rings from California and Australia, and a copper thumb ring, which tradition says had been the signet ring of the Abbot of Lancaster.

The following Paper was read :—

On some Old Lancashire Bloomeries,* *by James Kerr, Esq., M.D.*

ANNUAL EXCURSION.

The Annual Excursion of the Society took place on Tuesday, June 25th, 1872, the locality chosen being Windermere. The Members and friends, including ladies, to the number of nearly 100, left Lime Street Station at 8-35 a.m., and proceeding by the ordinary train, arrived at Windermere about 12-30 p.m. The weather was unfavourable during the journey, the rain falling heavily; but as the train neared its destination it cleared up, and was fine for the remainder of the day. The party proceeded to the Old England Hotel, where arrangements had been made for dinner. The chair was taken by the President, the Rev. Dr. Hume, who had on his right the Rev. Canon Stock and the Rev. Mr. Bright, who were the guests of the Society on the occasion. The vice-chairs were filled by Joseph Mayer, F.S.A., Dr. Buxton, and John G. Jacob, Esq. After the removal of the cloth, several toasts were proposed and responded to. The party then visited the Old Church of Windermere, where the Rev. Canon Stock courteously explained the curious monumental tablets, and the fine old stained glass window. The party then proceeded by special steamer along the lake to Ambleside, where most of them alighted and explored the beauties of the neigbourhood; returning by steamer to tea, which was served at the same hotel. Soon after, most of the party returned by train to Liverpool, others following by a later train; and all having spent a most delightful and enjoyable day.

* Transactions, p. 57.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

The respective Societies are the donors of their Reports and Proceedings.

A Glance at the Position and Prospects of the Empire. From the Author, R. A. Macfie, Esq., M.P.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library, vols. xix, xx, xxi, xxii. From R. A. Macfie, Esq., M.P.

Archæological Journal, No. 111, 1871.

Archæologia; or, Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquity, vol. xlii, parts 1 and 2. Proceedings, December 8th, 1870, to March 23rd, 1871; Proceedings, vol. v, No. 1, from the Society of Antiquaries, London.

Anglo-Saxon and other Antiquities discovered at Faversham in Kent, Catalogue of. From the Compiler, C. Roach Smith, Esq.

Buckingham, Records of, No. 2, vol. iv. From the Architectural and Archæological Society of Buckingham.

Boston Society of Natural History. Memoirs, vol. ii, part 1; Proceedings, vol. xiii.

Bulletins de la Societé des Antiquaries de L'Oûest, 1870; 20th July, 1871.

Congressional Directory for the Third Session of the Forty-first Congress of the United States of America. By B P. Poore, second edition.

Curiositès des Numismatiques, five parts. From C. Roach Smith, Esq.

Essex Institute, Salem, Mass. Papers comprising—(1) Historical Collections, vol. x, parts 1, 2, 3; (2) Bulletin, vols. 1 and 2; (3) "To-Day, a Paper printed during the Fair of the Essex Institute; (4) Historical Notice of the Essex Institute; (5) Historical Account of the Newspapers and Periodicals published at Salem, from 1768 to 1856, by Gilbert J. Streeter; (6) An Account of Leslie's Retreat at the North Bridge, on Sunday, February 26, 1775, by C. M. Eadicott.

Geology of the Bewsey Valley. From the Author, J. A. Paterson, Esq.

Historical Notes of the Earthquakes of New England, 1638-1869. By W. T. Bingham, A.M., A.A.P., &c.

Glasgow, Philosophical Society of. Proceedings. part 3, vol. vii.

Lapidarium Septenrionale; or, a Description of Monuments under the Roman Rule, part 2. From the Society of Antiquaries.

Leicestershire Architectural and Archæological Society. Proceedings, part 1, vol. iii.

Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. Annual Report, 1870–71.

Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Meetings, Twenty-fourth Session; Proceedings, 1871.

Liverpool Free Public Library, Museum, and Schools, Annual Report of the Committee of, year ending August 31st, 1871.

Liverpool Institute. Report of the Directors, 1872.

Liverpool Naturalists' Field Club. Proceedings, 1870–71.

Liverpool Numismatic Society. Proceedings 1st year, 1871.

Liverpool Polytechnic Society. Journal, from September 23rd, 1871, to January 27th, 1872.

Manchester, Literary and Philosophical Society of. Proceedings, October 31st, November 14th, and December 12th, 1871; Transactions, March Meeting, 1872; Journal, February 6th, February 20th, and March 5th, 1872.

Mersey Docks and Harbour Board. Report of the Astronomer to the Marine Committee, for the year 1870.

Memorial of North Tyndall and its Four Surnames. From the Author, Ed. Charlton, Esq.

National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. Proceedings, Leeds Meeting, 1871.

Polytechnic Society. Proceedings, 8th meeting, Thirty-fourth Session.

Protoplasmic Life. From the Author, F. Crace Calvert, F.R.S., &c.

Reports and Papers read at the Meetings of the Architectural Societies of the Diocese of Lincoln, County of York, Archdeaconry of Northampton, County of Bedford, Diocese of Worcester, County of Leicester, and Town of Sheffield, during the year 1870.

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